WORKS IN PROGRESS

Volume 21, No. 2 | SERVING THE SOCIAL JUSTICE COMMUNITY OF OLYMPIA SINCE 1990 | June 2010

Report on Arizona

Indigenous solidarity with immigrant rights

by Zoltan Grossman

I visited Tucson on May 20-22, originally to attend the annual conference of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA). http://www.naisa.org. But when the anti-immigrant Senate Bill 1070 was signed by Gov. Jan Brewer, Rep. Raul Grijalva called for a boycott of the state by future conventions. Local Native and Chicano activists went a step further, welcoming educators and activists to come to the state--but only if they turn their previously planned conferences into forums against SB1070, refuse to patronize corporate hotels and restaurants, and actively hold protests against the new apartheid laws.

NAISA gave financial reasons when declined to relocate the conference to Native land, but added an immigration panel and Rep. Grijalva to the conference agenda. Many individual members (like myself) abided by the boycott conditions on our own, such as by changing our presentation topics to address the immigration question. The Arizona activists asked us to listen to their stories, and take their words back to our communities.

Youth lead the fight for ethnic studies

Some conference sessions were transformed by NAISA members, such as turning a session over to young Native and Chican@ student activists who have been leading the charge against SB1010 racial profiling, and the ethnic studies ban House Bill B2281. That bill bans any curriculum that advocates the overthrow of the U.S. government, promotes "ethnic solidarity" and favors one racial group, or promotes ethnic or racial hatred toward one group (you mean, like mainstream "white studies" history textbooks??).

The anti-ethnic studies politicians especially singled out readings by Paolo Freire and Rudy Acuña, and hinted that (like in Texas) such books would be not be allowed. The law seems especially aimed at Raza (Mexican-American) Studies at in Tucson High School, the University of Arizona and other campuses. Anti-ethnic studies people even filmed a Latino literature class, and the media implied that teachers were radicalizing their poor uninformed students. Tucson and Flagstaff city councils have passed resolutions opposing the repressive law.

The Tucson High School students described their rivalry with State Superintendent of Schools Tom Horne, who is now running for state Attorney General. Horne was offended that Dolores Huerta had spoken at their school, and she proclaimed "Republicans hate Latinos." When he later sent his Republican Latina deputy to speak in response, students were told they could not ask hert any questions. They walked out of the assembly, with duct tape over their mouths, and tshirts that read "They can silence our voices but not our spirits."

In revenge for this student activism, [School Superintendent] Horne initiated HB2281, saying that only "Greco-Roman knowledge" is suitable in education.

The students ran in 115-degree heat for 120 miles to the Capitol in Phoenix to protect their ethnic studies programs, and 9 later chained themselves to the Capitol. In revenge for this student activism, Horne initiated HB2281, saying that only "Greco-Roman knowledge" is suitable in education. When students responded with a street theater that took back confiscated books from Tom Horne, the media covered it as a mock killing of Horne.

Raids and Mass Trials

The transformed immigration panel at the NAISA conference included some of these kick-ass college and high school students--such as Leilani Clark (Tewa) and Nicoletta Gomez (Yaqui)--who spoke eloquently about how much ethnic studies has meant to their lives. They described racial profiling: "If you're darker than John McCain, you're in danger when you leave your home." Brown drivers are stopped only to be questioned--police sometimes don't even notice expired plates. Undocumented people may have their cars confiscated, so many ride bikes instead.

The students described the ICE raids, such as the April 15 mass raid that closed off much of South Tucson with checkpoints and AK-armed masked agents, which detained 63 people (including 17 US citizens) and confiscated $10 million in property. The raids and laws, Clark said, have "ignited an intergenerational firestorm, especially among the youth."

The student activists warned that Obama's phrase "comprehensive immigration reform" usually includes more militarization of the border, including extension of the border wall. They were

▸ **ARIZONA,** continued on page 10

Joe Hyer and Jeff Kingsbury: *Pot, police, and plea bargains*

Interview by Mike Coday

Mike Coday: Thanks for agreeing to talk with us about your life and legal issues, Joe. I read the first part of your interview with *Olympia Power and Light*. That was a good interview and covered a lot of ground, but I think *Works in Progress* has questions for you that did not come up in the earlier interview. The first question that comes to mind is why did you ever trust Jeff Kingsbury so much? Do you and Jeff go back further than the recent political history of running for office at the same time and serving together on the City Council? Had Jeff been a reliable friend to you outside of your political lives?

Joe Hyer: To be honest, I tend to trust everyone, until they give me a reason not to. Even then, I tend to be overly forgiving and trusting. Perhaps that's a fault, but I also consider it a virtue.

The officers seemed almost apologetic. Very polite. They indicated that they did not want to be there, that this was several levels below what they normally worked.

I have known Jeff since I was a teenager, and friends of mine did programs at the playhouse. We became much closer (more than casual acquaintances) when I moved my business downtown and we served on the Downtown Association board together- 2001-2004. We worked together on many issues and events. Jeff has been a close personal friend since then.

Mike: Trusting and forgiving fits with my impression of you. I think that's part of your charm is that you seem authentically gregarious, engaging and enthusiastic. It seems like thinking the best of people is your default position. Your long friendship with Jeff helps me understand this a little better.

So, Jeff, I still don't get this from your position. What is your sense of your friendship with Joe? Were you guys longstanding friends?

[Jeff Kingsbury declined to respond to emails, invitations to sit down and talk, or to take part in this interview.]

Mike: But, Joe, leaving Jeff aside for a moment, the risks you took with using marijuana and not taking the precaution of getting your medical marijuana defense in place, and then taking the bigger risk of providing marijuana to a friend in any way that involved exchange of cash seem pretty crazy. You would no doubt agree about that at this point, but let's assume that a lot of folks really don't care whether Joe Hyer or Councilman and Mayor Pro Tem Hyer used marijuana or not. I think that is actually the case. So the thing that really bit you in this instance was that you engaged in something that could be construed as sale of a controlled substance, especially with the school zone enhancement, and that raises another issue: It seems pretty clear that the law enforcement and/or prosecution folks were not interested in a simple possession bust, they worked to get the arrest for sale. What do you make of that? Why would they bother? It's not like you were the Legion Way Drug Cartel, a big player in regional drug trafficking or anything like that. Do you have enemies in law enforcement or the prosecutor's office?

Joe: I don't know any of those answers. I know that when Jeff and another approached the sheriff, he stated there may be 'drugs' in the house. No one mentioned any commerce or sale. That was created, and I was enticed into it, in order to get a search warrant for my house.

I don't think I have enemies in law enforcement. I have worked well with the OPD, their leadership and their union. I think I have ruffled a few feathers with my objection to military shipments at the port, and potentially some of the budget cuts I had to advocate for ... but in general, they have and continue to be supportive. Even now, when I see OPD on the street, they wave, they shake may hand, we chat.

I have never had any contact at all with the Sheriff's office or prosecutor's office. Some speculate that my potential appointment to county treasurer raised some hackles, but I don't see how.

Mike: Let's talk about the police response, the actual raid of your home. I understand that the police were somewhat discreet about the bust. There were no sirens or lights, but it also sounds like the police who came through your door were a little over-dressed for the occasion. What was your experience like?

Joe: Well, there has never ever been a gun in my house until that night, when there were 6 or 7 pointed at me. Men with guns, body armor, several with black ski masks, bursting in. They brought the battering ram, but my door was already ajar, so it was left in the flowerbeds. That image, with all those guns pointed at me, that is the one thing about all this I just

▸ **JOE HYER,** continued on page 6

Works In Progress

ESTABLISHED IN 1990 BY THE THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

Works In Progress is a free, volunteer-operated progressive community newspaper based in Olympia, Washington. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of *Works In Progress* and are solely those of the authors.

Submissions
Please send text as Word attachments. Artwork and photos can be sent electronically or we can scan them for you as camera-ready/black & white.

Works In Progress is committed to stories misrepresented or ignored by the mainstream media. We value local, well-researched news stories, accounts of personal experience and reflections by local authors. Opinion pieces, also valued, are often best supported by facts, examples, and sources, and we encourage writers to include these elements to submissions. We also print some downright crazy and silly stuff, so send us your gonzo stories and push the boundaries, if you dare.

WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number. Articles may be reprinted. Please cite source.

If you don't see your issue being covered in Works In Progress*, it's because you aren't writing about it! (Or aren't finding someone else to cover it!)*

Send submissions to *olywip@gmail* or mail to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295.

Governing Tool
The following statement is part of the Editorial Policy and is the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause:

WIP *will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by* WIP *to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but* WIP *reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

Mission Statement
"Our aim is to confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on economic, social, and environmental justice. *Works In Progress* is dedicated to providing a voice for those most affected by the exclusionary and unfair practices that seek to silence the oppressed."

Anti-Discrimination Clause
We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

Back Issues
Some issues are held in the Timberland Library system. *WIP* is archived on microfilm by the UW Library.

Workers In Progress

Colby Batts	Renee Cruickshank	Margaret Love	Pat Tassoni
Ken Griffey Berryhill	Wally Cuddeford	Joshua Neuhouser	Ryan Tompkins
Janet Blanding	Christian DesMarets	hali panneton	Berd Whitlock
Dave Campbell	Brendan Funtek	Sandia Slaby	Scott Yoos
Marylea Coday	Ben Gus	Sylvia Smith	and room for
Mike Coday	Teresa Jennings	Jeff Sowers	more...

Cover photo by Berd Whitlock

WIP Schedule

Submission Deadline:
June 25
PO Box 295
Olympia WA 98507
olywip@gmail.com
www.olywip.org
Proofreading:
July 2
(Be there for the first read!)

Advertising Rates

253-225-1769

7.25″ x 4.75″	. . . $125
4.75 x 4.75″	. . . $83
3.0″ x 4.75″	. . . $52
4.0″ x 2.25″	. . . $34
3.5″ x 2.25″	. . . $30
2.25″ x 2.25″	. . . $20

[4 months for the price of 3]

*** Special non-profit rates***

Local activist Ben Groves says almost all that can be said right now, at the recent emergency protest against the Gaza flotilla massacre. Check out our breakdown of the attack on page 9. Photo by Berd Whitlock.

Thoughts about the oil disaster

The oil disaster in the Gulf of Mexico is very bad. BP estimates 5,000 barrels a day. Independent analysts estimate that the number could be ten times that much, or more. At 5,000 barrels a day, the amount of oil would already be 4 times as much as the Exxon Valdeez disaster (which happened over 10 years ago off the coast of Alaska.) This is not to mention the possible effects of the chemical dispersants, which have been used in the recent disaster.

Most of the oil that is spewing from a pressurized oil deposit deep under the surface of the water (5,000 feet deep) is not reaching the surface, due to underwater currents. No one knows what the real consequences of this disaster (consequences for ecosystems and all the life in and around the waters of the gulf, nor to human lives,) will be.

One thing is for sure though. This is a big deal.

-Berd Whitlock

Letters to the editor

WIP will no longer print announcements

Nah, just kidding. They're on Page 15.

Vote Crist for Congress

We know our political system is broken. Wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan continue, seemingly without end. Banks are earning massive profits while gambling away our savings, making money whether we win or lose. And as of this writing, tens of thousands of barrels of oil are gushing into the Gulf of Mexico each day, spoiling habitat from the swamps and marshes of Louisiana to the sandy beaches of the Florida Keys, while those responsible for the mess respond far too late with far too little.

Many Democrats in D.C. have been a disappointment. Our electoral choice has often been between a candidate who will use a broken system to achieve small victories and a candidate who will use that system to benefit corporate profits at the expense of people and the environment.

None of this is news – you've heard this all before, because it's been going on a long time. And it's too easy to say that the system is beyond repair. It's too easy to walk away.

In Washington's 3rd Congressional District, there is a candidate who will truly challenge the status quo: Cheryl Crist. She won't cash corporate campaign checks, she won't be afraid to vote against endless war, and she won't ignore the welfare of people or the environment.

She'll vote to de-fund the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. That money can be spent on social services. For what taxpayers in Olympia have spent on Iraq and Afghanistan since 2001, we could have built more than 800 affordable housing units, providing good jobs for construction workers who are out of work, and building homes for those forced out of theirs by the recession.

She'll vote for public financing of campaigns, getting the big money out of politics. She'll vote to re-regulate Wall Street in a number of ways, such as re-instating Glass-Steagall, the law that separated banks (where you put your savings) and investment firms (where you play the stock market), and capping the size of big banks, so they can't grow "too big to fail."

She'll work for a securities transactions tax, charging a small fee any time financial products are traded. That's a tax on the kind of complex schemes that helped crash the economy, made bank executives wealthier, and added no real value to our economy. We could use the hundreds of billions of dollars generated by this tax to pay for crucial social services at the state level – services like education, food stamps, and health care.

If you agree with these positions, or you're tired of voting for Democrats who cave to the powerful monied interests, then vote for Cheryl Crist on August 17th. Voting for Cheryl won't fix our broken system – but neither will voting for a Democrat who doesn't represent your views. It is a long road to achieve a peaceful foreign policy and a responsive government. Cheryl's campaign is a step in that road, and she's only as viable as you want her to be. Tell your friends, get involved in the campaign at www.cristforcongress.us, and make your voice heard.

-Seamus Walsh

Letter to Obama concerning oil spill

(This is an e-mail I sent Obama during a moment of lesser-rage one morning when seething over the BP oil catastrophe in the gulf. I understand the futility of writing a letter to the President of the US but that is why I am sending it to WIP. Consider this letter sent on behalf of all people who feel that such a sentiment needs to be acknowledged before actions are taken. To all the Warriors of the Rainbow out there nature calls you to defense. To all allies show your love.)

Dear President Obama,

I voted for you and consider you to be a very capable person. I am concerned about your response to the oil spill, particularly your buddy nature with BP and the admirals. It is my contention that this catastrophe is so obviously not an accident but is a totally predictable event that is the product of private enterprise running roughshod for profit. Furthermore the people at the very top of the three companies responsible are the worst criminals alive in this country today except perhaps for Cheney, Bush and, forgive me but unfortunately it is true, yourself, who are all mass murderers. The fact that these men are multi-millionaires and billionaires and will never go to justice is a crime against humanity and surely the most telling look at the absurdity of our time and the economic and political system in which we live in.

I believe that you under the authority of the American people, despite being now a war criminal, have the vested power to prosecute these men for treason against their country or as terrorists or unlawful combatants. Laugh if you dare at such a claim but there would be not a single tear shed by the American public for these scoundrels and there would be mighty praise, perhaps even the start towards forgiveness for your audacity of murder. The people saw you get tough on the goat herders of Afghanistan and Pakistan that you paraded about as an act of strength on the part of the US government. Standing up to your bosses at BP and firing your admirals and generals would show true courage.

There are times when a person has to look at an untenable situation and do something different. The wiping of BP off the face of the earth is such an action. The greedy folks at Exxon and Shell would be fearful but would also welcome the carcass for their pickings, the vultures that they are having preyed upon nations for the goo of eons dead plant matter. This is a clear opportunity for our government to assert control over our oil industry and cipher the profits were they are supposed to be which is in the hands of the people.

I believe this country is still going in the wrong direction towards absolute power of private corporations in government. If you believe that the American people are going to stand for the economic shake down, the police state, the wiping of individual liberties then you are mistaken. The natural reaction of the people will be to stand up abandon electoral politics and the corporate media. Once most have had their faith destroyed no amount of police, spying or jailing will keep the people from organizing themselves. Your government will either follow the people or be destroyed by the people. If I were you I would begin to take notes from Hugo Chavez, his government is doing most things right while ours is doing all things evil.

-Bruce Wilkinson

Flexing our muscle inside the house of labor: The power of political endorsement

by Joanne McCaughan

Dateline: May 15, 2010, Machinists Hall, South Seattle – Washington State Labor Council COPE [Committee on Political Education of the WSLC] Convention.

Saturday morning, 7 a.m., pretty early to be in Seattle. Unions caucus first, gathering their strength for the day's hard work ahead, coming together for strategy sessions, leaning into their base to create unity. Talk of the recent legislative session, how much was at stake, how much was lost. For state and other public employees, it was an uphill battle all during the session, right to the last minute of the special session and final signing of the budget. Battles over the privatization of children's services and liquor stores, attacks on public employee health care funding, furloughs and worse, layoffs, prison and other institutional closures, agency mergers and other 'efficiencies' were proposed. The Union's political action staff and members had kept very close tabs on which legislators had promised to protect jobs and vulnerable populations, and how well they kept their promises. The slogan for the day: Hold Their Feet to the Fire!

The WSLC Cope Convention provides an opportunity for union-elected delegates to come together to make endorsement recommendations for local, regional, state and national elections. The morning session is an opportunity for candidates to come and address the body, reminding them of the battles already fought and won whether in the state house or Congress, and of the battles still to come. Sen. Patty Murray was there, escorted to the podium by an honor guard of union leaders. She talked about health care reform, and the importance of bringing real citizens and their stories to light in this critical fight. She reminded us all of how important it is that our voices be heard, and assured the crowd that she is listening. She also talked about rebuilding the economy, and her commitment to maintain production lines and living wage, union jobs at Boeing and other industrial plants.

After a 15-minute speech energizing the hall, Murray was followed by a long line of hopefuls, including a couple for the open congressional seat in the Third District, long held by Brian Baird (who has chosen to give up the seat). First, longime Olympia resident and former state representative, Denny Heck was welcomed long and loud by the delegates. He challenged the gathering with a very spirited account of all he would do in the future if elected, a real stump speech. He was followed by current state Senator Craig Pridemore of the Vancouver area. Pridemore was enthusiastically greeted by his base from across the state. He worked hard during this legislative session to protect working people. He collaborated with the Blue/Green Coalition, a group of legislators whose commitment to working people's issues was tested time and again. They held fast and maintained health benefit levels for state employees, a huge win. Both candidates had power in the room, but only one was destined to walk away with the endorsement of the body.

Candidate after candidate came to the podium to remind their friends in labor just how important their issues were to that candidate. These were labor's allies and neighbors; labor had worked on their behalf in campaign after campaign, helping fund coffers and pour coffee at receptions, running literature and making phone calls, getting out the vote on election day. That's what friends do for each other when the fight is on, and the results are so critical. But this day was different, there was a tension in the air, and some puzzled expressions as it became clear that it was not going to be business as usual.

The afternoon/evening session after lunch is for delegates only, that's when the arguments happen, when the guests have left and it comes down to voting for the endorsements. Depending on the size of the membership organization, each union is assigned a particular number of votes. They use their relative voting strength to bring approval for campaign services to their chosen candidates. As the afternoon work went on hour after hour, it was clear that this year the balance of power in the room was shifting, affected by several years of successful organizing among various public sector unions, and coupled with losses in the trades due to economic conditions and shrinking numbers in some traditionally industrial unions. The numbers were coming in, and the votes were being counted and re-counted.

Motion after motion, candidates who had long expected and received nearly unconditional support from labor were turned down for endorsements.

Motion after motion, candidates who had long expected and received nearly unconditional support from labor were turned down for endorsements. Some of them had seemingly good 'report cards' or 'grades' in their voting record on labor issues as identified in union literature. Despite this fact, they were turned down for not taking on the hard fight of protecting public sector jobs and services over the last session, e.g., voting in the budget to close Maple Lane School, a juvenile facility. Some newer candidates who appeared to be friendly, but don't yet have a track record, were also denied services, and the message was loud and clear. Do right by labor and we'll do right by you!

As for the Congressional race in the Third District, Craig Pridemore took the prize. There was some extensive debate over this endorsement, with sharp lines drawn in the sand. Heck's voting record for labor friendly issues is pretty good, considered in the high 80's. But compare that to Pridemore's, which is close to perfect over the last five years, according to the WSLC literature provided. He's followed through on promises, supported expanding collective bargaining rights to new groups of workers, stood up for green jobs initiatives, and voted to expand domestic partner rights, and much more. This endorsement didn't come without a challenge though, as many in the hall also strongly supported Heck. Ultimately a voice vote was not enough, and after a challenge, each delegatation was called to the mike to vote their numbers. After the final tally, it was clear that Pridemore's base of support was stronger.

Hours and hours later the work was finally done, with only very few endorsements for other candidates allowed. Campaigns can and likely will come back later and ask again during the WSLC Convention in August. But they've likely got some work to do first, and some reflecting on the flexing of Union power. They still have a chance to make things right, but should not forget what happened on that Saturday morning in May.

Joanne McCaughan is a member and delegate for Local 443/Washington Federation of State Employees, and a member of The TESC Labor Center Advisory Board.

Banks' failure to modify mortgages hurts Washington

by Janet Harwell Boggs

Last April, Washington CAN! and O.U.R. Washington led their members in a sit-in at the Bank of America building in downtown Seattle, WA. The crowd of more than 30 members protested Bank of America's failure to modify home mortgage loans and demanded a moratorium on all foreclosures, a homeowner's community center, and an end to predatory lending and racial redlining.

This local kickoff as part of a continuing national campaign to make banks accountable for modifying home mortgages takes place at a time when Bank of America and other large U.S. banks are doing well financially after being bailed out by the taxpayer. Bank of America posted a first quarter 2010 profit of $3.2 billion. In 2009, it paid out 88 cents of every dollar earned in bonuses and compensation when the bank's net income was $6.28 billion.

"The banks can afford to help homeowners struggling to pay their mortgages," said Will Pittz, executive director of Washington CAN! "We're asking them to put their customers first before excessive profits."

In Washington state alone, according to the Center for Responsible Lending, 132,092 is the number of foreclosures projected for 2009 through 2012. The percentage increase in foreclosure starts from third quarter 2006 to the end of 2009 was 158%. Had a moratorium on foreclosures been implemented in the same month as the April sit-in, 128,093 Washington state families would have kept their homes.

Sit-in participant and O.U.R. Washington member, Marilyn Takamura, is a case in point. Sixty years old, she works cleaning homes and goes without health insurance despite her hyperthyroidism to keep the house she has lived in for 30 years. Her mortgage payments to Bank of America are more than half her monthly income. Repeated requests for modification have been ignored.

"They took all that bailout money and keep taking more out of people. It's like they're hoping that I will go into default so that they can foreclose on me."

"It's like they don't care. They took all that bailout money and keep taking more out of people," Takamura said at the sit-in. "It's like they're hoping that I will go into default so that they can foreclose on me."

O.U.R. Washington is advocating for a homeowners' community center where people like Takamura could meet directly with loan officials to work out the details of a modification that would take into account the homeowner's particular situation.

O.U.R. Washington, Washington CAN!, and other community organizations plan to continue actions against banks and other corporate special interests whose greed caused the 2007 financial crisis that led to countless home foreclosures, the closure of thousands of small businesses, and the loss of millions of jobs.

Senate hearings are being held to investigate the causes of the financial crisis and to refine proposed legislation to help prevent similar crises. S.B. 3217 bill would regulate financial markets and complex financial products like derivatives. The latter were an integral part of the sub-prime mortgage failures. The bill also provides for an independent agency to protect consumers against bank actions that led to the financial crisis.

In keeping with their strategy of saying no to Main Street but yes to Wall Street, Senate Republicans first voted to filibuster the bill and then backed away when the filibuster's unpopularity became clear.

For more detailed information regarding the financial crisis see Wikipedia article at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Financial_crisis_of_2007%E2%80%932010 and the web site Americans for Financial Reform at http://ourfinancialsecurity.org/2010/05/senate-takes-up-financial-reform/

Anyone interested in participating in future actions is urged to contact:

Washington CAN!
206-389-0050

O.U.R. Washington
206-293-7050

Curbing financial greed locally and nationally is crucial to rebuilding our economy. "We believe in economic justice for everyone. We all belong to the same community, and that community is hurting," said Jill Mangaliman, one of the Bank of American sit-in organizers. "So I promise you we'll be back!"

Centralia Square Antique Mall
3 floors to explore • Restaurant • Bookstore
Directions from Olympia
South on Interstate 5
Off at Exit 62 (Factory Outlets)
East on Harrison
Right on Pearl
201 S Pearl & Locust
Open 7 days
10 to 5

acupuncture is pretty cool.
http://2kensmith.blogspot.com/
923.0826
ken smith, l.ac.

MASKED RACISM

Reflections on the prison-industrial complex

by Angela Davis

Reprinted with permission of ColorLines Magazine www.colorlines.com : This article was printed in late 1998 and is unfortunately still relevant.

Imprisonment has become the response of first resort to far too many of the social problems that burden people who are ensconced in poverty. These problems often are veiled by being conveniently grouped together under the category "crime" and by the automatic attribution of criminal behavior to people of color. Homelessness, unemployment, drug addiction, mental illness, and illiteracy are only a few of the problems that disappear from public view when the human beings contending with them are relegated to cages.

Prisons thus perform a feat of magic. Or rather the people who continually vote in new prison bonds and tacitly assent to a proliferating network of prisons and jails have been tricked into believing in the magic of imprisonment. But prisons do not disappear problems, they disappear human beings. And the practice of disappearing vast numbers of people from poor, immigrant, and racially marginalized communities has literally become big business.

The seeming effortlessness of magic always conceals an enormous amount of behind-the-scenes work. When prisons disappear human beings in order to convey the illusion of solving social problems, penal infrastructures must be created to accommodate a rapidly swelling population of caged people. Goods and services must be provided to keep imprisoned populations alive. Sometimes these populations must be kept busy and at other times – particularly in repressive super-maximum prisons and in INS detention centers – they must be deprived of virtually all meaningful activity. Vast numbers of handcuffed and shackled people are moved across state borders as they are transferred from one state or federal prison to another.

All this work, which used to be the primary province of government, is now also performed by private corporations, whose links to government in the field of what is euphemistically called "corrections" resonate dangerously with the military industrial complex. The dividends that accrue from investment in the punishment industry, like those that accrue from investment in weapons production, only amount to social destruction. Taking into account the structural similarities and profitability of business-government linkages in the realms of military production and public punishment, the expanding penal system can now be characterized as a "prison industrial complex."

The Color of Imprisonment

Almost two million people are currently locked up in the immense network of U.S. prisons and jails. More than 70 percent of the imprisoned population are people of color. It is rarely acknowledged that the fastest growing group of prisoners are black women and that Native American prisoners are the largest group per capita. Approximately five million people – including those on probation and parole – are directly under the surveillance of the criminal justice system.

Three decades ago, the imprisoned population was approximately one-eighth its current size. While women still constitute a relatively small percentage of people behind bars, today the number of incarcerated women in California alone is almost twice what the nationwide women's prison population was in 1970. According to Elliott Currie, "[t]he prison has become a looming presence in our society to an extent unparalleled in our history – or that of any other industrial democracy. Short of major wars, mass incarceration has been the most thoroughly implemented government social program of our time."

To deliver up bodies destined for profitable punishment, the political economy of prisons relies on racialized assumptions of criminality – such as images of black welfare mothers reproducing criminal children – and on racist practices in arrest, conviction, and sentencing patterns. Colored bodies constitute the main human raw material in this vast experiment to disappear the major social problems of our time. Once the aura of magic is stripped away from the imprisonment solution, what is revealed is racism, class bias, and the parasitic seduction of capitalist profit. The prison industrial system materially and morally impoverishes its inhabitants and devours the social wealth needed to address the very problems that have led to spiraling numbers of prisoners.

Homelessness, unemployment, drug addiction, mental illness, and illiteracy are only a few of the problems that disappear from public view when the human beings contending with them are relegated to cages. Prisons thus perform a feat of magic.

As prisons take up more and more space on the social landscape, other government programs that have previously sought to respond to social needs – such as Temporary Assistance to Needy Families – are being squeezed out of existence. The deterioration of public education, including prioritizing discipline and security over learning in public schools located in poor communities, is directly related to the prison "solution."

Profiting from Prisoners

As prisons proliferate in U.S. society, private capital has become enmeshed in the punishment industry. And precisely because of their profit potential, prisons are becoming increasingly important to the U.S. economy. If the notion of punishment as a source of potentially stupendous profits is disturbing by itself, then the strategic dependence on racist structures and ideologies to render mass punishment palatable and profitable is even more troubling.

Prison privatization is the most obvious instance of capital's current movement toward the prison industry. While government-run prisons are often in gross violation of international human rights standards, private prisons are even less accountable. In March of this year, the Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), the largest U.S. private prison company, claimed 54,944 beds in 68 facilities under contract or development in the U.S., Puerto Rico, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Following the global trend of subjecting more women to public punishment, CCA recently opened a women's prison outside Melbourne. The company recently identified California as its "new frontier."

Wackenhut Corrections Corporation (WCC), the second largest U.S. prison company, claimed contracts and awards to manage 46 facilities in North America, U.K., and Australia. It boasts a total of 30,424 beds as well as contracts for prisoner health care services, transportation, and security.

Currently, the stocks of both CCA and WCC are doing extremely well. Between 1996 and 1997, CCA's revenues increased by 58 percent, from $293 million to $462 million. Its net profit grew from $30.9 million to $53.9 million. WCC raised its revenues from $138 million in 1996 to $210 million in 1997. Unlike public correctional facilities, the vast profits of these private facilities rely on the employment of non-union labor.

The Prison Industrial Complex

But private prison companies are only the most visible component of the increasing corporatization of punishment. Government contracts to build prisons have bolstered the construction industry. The architectural community has identified prison design as a major new niche. Technology developed for the military by companies like Westinghouse is being marketed for use in law enforcement and punishment.

Moreover, corporations that appear to be far removed from the business of punishment are intimately involved in the expansion of the prison industrial complex. Prison construction bonds are one of the many sources of profitable investment for leading financiers such as Merrill Lynch. MCI charges prisoners and their families outrageous prices for the precious telephone calls which are often the only contact prisoners have with the free world.

Many corporations whose products we consume on a daily basis have learned that prison labor power can be as profitable as third world labor power exploited by U.S.-based global corporations. Both relegate formerly unionized workers to joblessness and many even wind up in prison. Some of the companies that use prison labor are IBM, Motorola, Compaq, Texas Instruments, Honeywell, Microsoft, and Boeing. But it is not only the hi-tech industries that reap the profits of prison labor. Nordstrom department stores sell jeans that are marketed as "Prison Blues," as well as t-shirts and jackets made in Oregon prisons. The advertising slogan for these clothes is "made on the inside to be worn on the outside." Maryland prisoners inspect glass bottles and jars used by Revlon and Pierre Cardin, and schools throughout the world buy graduation caps and gowns made by South Carolina prisoners.

The great majority of people have been tricked into believing in the efficacy of imprisonment, even though the historical record clearly demonstrates that prisons do not work.

"For private business," write Eve Goldberg and Linda Evans (a political prisoner inside the Federal Correctional Institution at Dublin, California) "prison labor is like a pot of gold. No strikes. No union organizing. No health benefits, unemployment insurance, or workers' compensation to pay. No language barriers, as in foreign countries. New leviathan prisons are being built on thousands of eerie acres of factories inside the walls. Prisoners do data entry for Chevron, make telephone reservations for TWA, raise hogs, shovel manure, make circuit boards, limousines, waterbeds, and lingerie for Victoria's Secret – all at a fraction of the cost of 'free labor.'"

Devouring the Social Wealth

Although prison labor – which ultimately is compensated at a rate far below the minimum wage – is hugely profitable for the private companies that use it, the penal system as a whole does not produce wealth. It devours the social wealth that could be used to subsidize housing for the homeless, to ameliorate public education for poor and racially marginalized communities, to open free drug rehabilitation programs for people who wish to kick their habits, to create a national health care system, to expand programs to combat HIV, to eradicate domestic abuse – and, in the process, to create well-paying jobs for the unemployed.

Since 1984 more than twenty new prisons have opened in California, while only one new campus was added to the California State University system and none to the University of California system. In 1996-97, higher education received only 8.7 percent of the State's General Fund while corrections received 9.6 percent. Now that affirmative action has been declared illegal in California, it is obvious that education is increasingly reserved for certain people, while prisons are reserved for others. Five times as many black men are presently in prison as in four-year colleges and universities. This new segregation has dangerous implications for the entire country.

By segregating people labeled as criminals, prison simultaneously fortifies and conceals the structural racism of the U.S. economy. Claims of low unemployment rates – even in black communities – make sense only if one assumes that the vast numbers of people in prison have really disappeared and thus have no legitimate claims to jobs. The numbers of black and Latino men currently incarcerated amount to two percent of the male labor force. According to criminologist David Downes, "[t]reating incarceration as a type of hidden unemployment may raise the jobless rate for men by about one-third, to 8 percent. The effect on the black labor force is greater still, raising the [black] male unemployment rate from 11 percent to 19 percent."

Hidden Agenda

Mass incarceration is not a solution to unemployment, nor is it a solution to the vast array of social problems that are hidden away in a rapidly growing network of prisons and jails. However, the great majority of people have been tricked into believing in the efficacy of imprisonment, even though the historical record clearly demonstrates that prisons do not work. Racism has undermined our ability to create a popular critical discourse to contest the ideological trickery that posits imprisonment as key to public safety. The focus of state policy is rapidly shifting from social welfare to social control.

Black, Latino, Native American, and many Asian youth are portrayed as the purveyors of violence, traffickers of drugs, and as envious of commodities that they have no right to possess. Young black and Latina women are represented as sexually promiscuous and as indiscriminately propagating babies and poverty. Criminality and deviance are racialized. Surveillance is thus focused on communities of color, immigrants, the unemployed, the undereducated, the homeless, and in general on those who have a diminishing claim to social resources. Their claim to social

▸ **PRISONS,** continued on page 13

Racism, sexual assault, and the mainstream sports media

Another look at the Ben Roethlisberger case

by Wally Cuddeford

On the evening of March 4, in a college bar in Milledgeville, Georgia, Pittsburgh Steelers quarterback Ben Roethlisberger brought a college student with him into the VIP area of the Capitol City Club, where he provided her drink after drink. Not long after this, Roethlisberger followed her into a back bathroom, where he raped her. A month later, on April 12, District Attorney Fred Bright in Milledgeville, Georgia, held a press conference to announce he would not pursue charges of sexual assault against the Steelers quarterback.

Bright's announcement followed an "investigation" by local police, in which the "investigators" botched the case in every way possible. A security camera was watched briefly, but the police never bothered to copy or remove the tape before the bar's automated system taped over it days later. They failed to secure the crime scene, namely the bathroom, before bar employees scrubbed it down. And they never conducted a full interrogation of Roethlisberger himself for his account of the evening.

It was also revealed that, earlier that same night, Sergeant Jerry Blash, who was in charge of the "investigation" into Roethlisberger's actions, posed for photos with the Steelers quarterback. When beginning his "investigation," the sergeant was heard calling the young woman a "drunk bitch," and commenting, "This pisses me off, that women can do this. It's bullshit. [...] She's making stuff up." This mishandling left the case defunct, without a reliable way to prove to a jury there was non-consensual sex. Finally, the victim herself and her family asked Bright not to press charges, and asked that the whole incident be put behind them. She also expressed distrust of the police in Milledgeville, asking Bright not to bring any of the "investigating" officers with him when he visited her. So the case had no evidence *and* no consenting witness, both thanks to the police "investigators."

Obviously, the first prerogative is to respect the victim's wishes. But even beyond that, I can understand why Bright would not press charges without a concrete legal case. Even assuming the best intentions on his part, he knows better than to stake his career, and his family's livelihood, on a high profile and expensive crusade to prosecute a wealthy celebrity-athlete with a high priced lawyer, when the likely result is that he'll lose the case, lose his job, and the rapist will go free *anyway*.

At the April 12 press conference, Bright could have simply said he was not pursuing the case, and could have given little comment beyond that. Instead, he outlined all the evidence they do have, and what they were able to piece together of the evening.

Roethlisberger, 28, and his entourage went barhopping in Milledgeville, a small college town. Going from college bar to college bar, they ended up at the Capitol Club, where the manager let them use the secluded VIP area. Roethlisberger ordered that only young women be allowed to accompany him in the VIP area, where he provided free drinks to them. One of the victim's sorority sisters, who was reportedly a Steelers fan, recognized Roethlisberger, and the group joined him. Despite her being underage, Roethlisberger provided her drink after drink, and began hitting on her.

The victim eventually decided she was too intoxicated to be safe there, and tried to leave. One of Roethlisberger's bodyguards escorted her to an "exit," which turned out to be a secluded bathroom. Roethlisberger followed her and locked the door. The victim told Roethlisberger "We don't have to do this." He responded, "No, we can do this," and he proceeded to rape her. Meanwhile, the victim's friends were looking for her. The bar manager directed that she was likely with Roethlisberger, who was in the bathroom. They tried to get to the bathroom, but Roethlisberger's bodyguards (two off-duty cops from the Pittsburgh area) both blocked the door. When Roethlisberger was done, the victim's friends called the police, and immediately took the victim to a hospital to be examined. She had suffered genital injuries consistent with rape. Roethlisberger later claimed that she had fallen and hit her head, but the examination showed no evidence of that.

Although the victim wanted to put the incident behind her, according to Bright, she steadfastly stood behind her account of the evening, never recanting anything.

What passes for journalism

When this story first broke, before we knew all the details, the mainstream sports media, largely a bastion of right-wing politics, did its due diligence to the status quo.

First, nearly every sports talk host took the exact same position. "We don't know what happened there, and we may never know. But what we can say for sure is that Ben Roethlisberger at least has terrible judgment, for putting himself in this position where he *could* be accused." Obviously, Roethlisberger has terrible judgment, but not because, as this position suggests, he *innocently* puts himself in awkward situations and forgets to bring witnesses with him.

Earlier that same night, Sergeant Jerry Blash, who was in charge of the "investigation" into Roethlisberger's actions, posed for photos with the Steelers quarterback.

This superficial and hardly critical analysis was supplemented with a series of ignorant callers repeating many of the old standby rape-apologist comebacks. ESPN radio, numerous times, aired callers saying "She's just a gold-digger looking for attention." Even if you set aside the offensive victim-blaming, it's patently absurd that someone who wants to remain anonymous, and who isn't filing a civil suit, is just "looking for attention." The proliferation of this catch-all response in the opinion media in every instance of a rape accusation, regardless of the circumstances of the incident, shows just how derelict these media outfits are in their obligation to honesty. It's a way for the network at large to sit back and dismiss the woman's claims, while disavowing responsibility and claiming journalistic objectivity. It's enough to make one vomit!

Some sports talk show hosts staked their position, that you must first and foremost be cynical of women's claims of sexual assault, on the outcome of the Duke Lacrosse rape case of 2006. According to these hosts, we learned *then* that we can't always believe allegations of sexual assault. This paints the false portrait that it's some new, forward-thinking idea to be skeptical of claims of sexual assault, when in reality, dismissal of women's claims of sexual assault is a legacy of the pre-women's rights movement era, when women weren't believed about anything. In fact, the forward-thinking idea is that such allegations, though unfortunately not true 100% of the time, should always be taken very seriously and treated as truth pending investigation.

Many comparisons were made to an incident in 2006, when Roethlisberger failed to wear a helmet before getting in a major motorcycle wreck, as if being a dipshit is at all comparable to preying on and sexually violating women.

Even amidst the victim blaming and reductionism, the sports talk show hosts would let slip an occasional glimmer of real outrage, generally in the form of an understanding caller or texter. One listener texted in: "I have a daughter in college; if he did that to my daughter, I'd kill the bastard." These responses, however, were not aired nearly as frequently as the dismissals and victim-blaming.

One bright spot in the sports media coverage came from Seattle sports talk radio host Mike Salk. While other hosts pounded on the "At least we know Roethlisberger has bad judgment" point, Salk questioned this premise. "That's the *best* thing you could say here, is to question judgment. [...] If you're questioning his judgment, you are assuming that the girl is in some way making this up. [...] The *worst* thing you could say about him is that he's a criminal, that he's either a sexual assaulter, or a rapist, or in some way a criminal, because this is a criminal act that we're talking about here." (Salk credited his wife, who works with abuse victims, for educating him.)

Examples such as this were the exception rather than the rule ... at first. But when more and more details were revealed every day, and when the case became more and more damning, it eventually became impossible to gloss over the situation with any rape-apologist standbys. Many pundits began taking a "Where there's smoke, there's fire" position, both in regards to the increasingly brutal details being revealed, but also in light of Roethlisberger's now-established pattern of claims by different women. While it's relieving for the coverage to finally move beyond blanket dismissals and victim-blaming, at the same time, it's hardly commendable for any journalist outfit to perpetually take the *safe* position.

A pattern of violence and misogyny

Indeed, this was not the first time Roethlisberger had been accused of sexual assault. In 2008, while staying at a Harrah's hotel in Lake Tahoe, Nevada, Roethlisberger called for staff to come up to his room to fix his television. According to a hotel employee, she entered the room, discovered the television was working fine, at which point Roethlisberger raped her. The county prosecutor declined to press charges, at which point the accuser filed a civil suit of her own, which is still pending.

Her claims were largely dismissed by the sports media and by football fans, both on the grounds that her accounts conflicted with accounts from other employees (one female employee claims the accuser bragged to her about having sex with Roethlisberger immediately after the incident), and also on the grounds that she has a history of mental instability. Roethlisberger's teammates on the Pittsburgh Steelers, during a press conference televised on ESPN, even went as far as to say "We support our teammate *no matter what happened in that hotel room*," a statement which should horrify anyone. Only after the subsequent events in Georgia has the sports media given any serious consideration to her claims.

All this, it turns out, was just the tip of a much larger iceberg. In early May, Sports Illustrated printed a cover story by Jack McCallum, establishing a pattern of abusive behavior and entitlement on the part of Roethlisberger. Several accounts, dating well before either sexual assault incident, include him refusing to pay cover at bars, or even his tab at restaurants. He would badger waitresses and bar owners, asking anyone who got in his way, "Do you know who I am?" He's been seen sexually harassing female employees at many establishments. In one instance, he yelled at a pregnant waitress, "Did your boyfriend forget to pull out?" One of Roethlisberger's friends, who remained anonymous, told SI he shakes his head when he sees Roethlisberger disrespect women in bars, even feeling the need to come back and apologize to them.

But more than just the behavior of Ben himself, McCallum writes of the circumstances that foster this behavior, in Roethlisberger and others in his position. Roethlisberger has surrounded himself with people who only tell him what he wants to hear, and who enable despicable behavior. McCallum writes, "[Those circumstances] are the unifying threads from Lake Tahoe to Milledgeville."

While many pro-athletes are moral people and honest citizens, it's certain that, for people like Roethlisberger, their celebrity status and social immunity is a free pass to abuse. Even with a proper investigation and dedicated prosecution, it's next to impossible to convict a celebrity of that stature with something like sexual assault. Even the most rabid sports fan must admit, these transgressions, from the rape all the way down to the bullying, are what happens when a caste of people are placed above standards of decency, accountability, or even the law.

Racism

The sports media is always hesitant to talk frankly about race, but there came a point in the Roethlisberger situation where it became inevitable. While the public was still learning about how the

▸ **SPORTS,** continued on page 12

▸ **JOE HYER,** continued from page 1

can't shake yet.

They had a black van parked out front, and that was all. No lights, no sirens. The officers seemed almost apologetic. Very polite. They indicated that they did not want to be there, that this was several levels below what they normally worked, and that they would never have followed up on a lead like this ... but that the 'bosses' ordered them to.

They explained to me what would happen, how bail would work, and let me call a friend to bring it. They even took my wedding ring inside the house and brought out my ID for me. A deputy rolled up in a suburban, and took me to the jail. On the drive up, he chatted about the downtown association, the safety committee, and community issues.

I have since been told by retired law enforcement officials that the 'raid' was not standard procedure. With the information they had, and who I was, they could have just had a single deputy knock on the door with a search warrant. I still don't know why the amount of resources expended on this were committed – tens of thousands of dollars on the investigation ... it's amazing, especially when they talk about how little money they have at the county.

Mike: So, Jeff, when you decided to be a key component of a bust like this, did you understand that at some point, your actions would lead to armed men coming through the door of Joe's house? Did you know Joe well enough to be able to tell the police that there were no weapons in the house? That guns drawn and battering rams would not be necessary? Do you have some regrets about how this played out for Joe?

[Jeff Kingsbury declined to respond to these questions for this interview.]

Mike: Joe, has this experience opened your eyes about law enforcement in general? Do you have a new perspective on the militarization of local police forces? Do you have any new empathy for other folks in the community and their experience when their lives bring them in contact with the local police force? Do you have some sense of the mismatch that local non-violent protesters experience when the local municipalities deploy the police force in riot gear against folks armed with bandanas and a conscience that demands they stand in the street to oppose the military invasion of Afghanistan or Iraq? What about the human beings in Iraq or elsewhere who get the terrifying experience of seeing heavily armed troops coming through their doors and get to wonder if their lives will ever return to normal? Did your experience cause you to see these global military activities with any new insight?

Joe: That's a lot of questions. I don't think it has changed my view of the War or global military activities ... I have been against that from the beginning. It has made it much more personal for me, as I have seen firsthand what it is like to have your home searched and men with guns enter it without knocking.

I still have a strong respect for our local 'peace officers' ... because that is what I see the police as. By and large, this is what they do, and the vast majority are good, hardworking people who I respect and admire.

My view on how we deal with protesters changed radically in 2007 ... at the end of a Tuesday Council meeting, the city manager rushed out to the protests at the Port, as things were coming to a head. That night, I stood on my front porch, listening to concussions, booms, shouts, and seeing flashes and lights downtown. It was like a war zone. In our own community. Since that moment, I have opposed further shipments through our port. I had opposed the wars, but now do it much more vigorously, because it had finally come home. Every day, I read now about how we are making **zero** progress in Afghanistan. How we are no longer eradicating poppy fields, so the farmers can have an income. Never mind that the farmers sell to the Taliban, who flood Europe and the US with heroin (costing us billions) and then use the profits to fight us ... in the midst of all this- resources are expended locally because I use marijuana medicinally. Now that's a crazy world.

I have a much greater empathy now for people who get caught up in the legal system. From the beginning, I just wanted to stand up and tell the truth. But that's not how this complex game has come to be played. It is a system that is complex, difficult, and expensive, and breeds recidivism.

Mike: Yes, that was a lot of questions, but I think you got what I was asking. I guess I will say congratulations to you and your attorney for negotiating a plea deal that does not require you to go to jail. Certainly, the idea of you going to jail never made any sense to me. I would liked to have seen you fight the charges, but I understand the realities and expense of the legal battle, and the uncertainty of a trial outcome versus the certainty of a plea arrangement. In a lot of ways, our criminal system has become a "one strike, you're out" kind of system where a single mistake can cost you your right to vote, your right to bear arms, your ability to land a decent job, and, in the case of a drug bust, a single "crime" can disqualify a person for financial aid for education. It seems like a wildly slippery slope where a hopeless slide to recidivism is predetermined.

[The plea deal] allowed me to do what I have wanted to do since my arrest - stand up and tell the whole truth to the community. I screwed up ... I ignored the law, violated the public trust, and practiced Thoreau-style civil disobedience [...] instead of working to change the law.

I am pretty involved at this particular moment on Initiative I-1068 that could simply decriminalize your actions if that initiative gets on the ballot and the voters pass it in November. In some ways, you seemed like the poster-guy for I-1068. Your criminalization serves no one. The idea of tossing you in jail just seems crazy in these circumstances. So how much thought did you give to fighting the charges all the way to trial? How about the resignation from City Council, did you have to think hard about walking away from that position over this matter?

Joe: I had about a week and a half to decide on the plea agreement. The most difficult part was that it had to remain confidential, and I could not seek advice outside of close family. I did consult a second criminal attorney. And part of me still does regret not going to trial, and fighting the charges. But the risks involved were just too great. Not just the emotional and economic costs ... but the risk of losing even on one charge. The school zone enhancements (which aren't just around schools, but also around school bus stops, meaning most of the city is in one) carry an automatic 24 month sentence, in maximum security, with no time off for good behavior. All over a few grams of cannabis?

The resignation from the Council was not, by any stretch, the most difficult thing to give up. Losing my right to **vote** is far more important to me than the Council seat. I was disappointed not to be able to live up to my commitment to the voters (to serve a four year term), but I can be just as effective of a community activist **not** being on the council as I was when serving. I accomplished a great deal in five plus years ... and gave up a lot. I look forward to backpacking, hiking, skiing- the things I am passionate about but gave up for a long time because of the council job.

When Sam Hunt let me know that I could get my voting rights back quickly, it really did help make the decision. Many ask if I will run for office again in five years ... I can honestly say I don't know. With what I just experienced, I am not sure I would ever want to risk my family or friends having to go through anything like this again. I was stupid, but sometimes, mistakes just happen. I never knew there was such vengeful, evil people involved in politics locally.

The other reason I took the plea deal was that it allowed me to do what I have wanted to do since my arrest – stand up and tell the whole truth to the community. I screwed up ... I ignored the law, violated the public trust, and practiced Thoreau-style civil disobedience (well, not publicly) instead of working to change the law. So if 1068 makes the ballot, I will be involved in the campaign. And if my story can help pass it, so much the better. I have heard from dozens and dozens of citizens that they are now pro-legalization after seeing my case.

Mike: What is the impact of your plea deal on your civic status? Can you run for office again at some future date? I have to think that a large number of people who have watched this local crime drama unfold are likely to decide that you have behaved a lot more honorably than many of the other players in this drama, and I am not just thinking of Jeff Kingsbury in that regard, I am also thinking about the folks in law enforcement or the prosecutor's office who appeared to have gone to extraordinary measures to bust you this way. The whole scenario just seems contrived to get you and I can't figure that one out. I doubt that you have spent a lot of time thinking about your next political campaign, but for the record, what is the impact of your plea deal? And what do you make of the effort that was spent to arrest you for sale of a controlled substance?

Joe: Once I have paid my fines, and served my time, I can regain my voting rights. In five years, this can be expunged from my record, and I could run for public office again. That's the nuts and bolts of it.

In the days after my arrest, I did consider, once it was all over, selling everything, my home and business, and moving down to Mexico – just leaving it all behind and starting over. That was the darkest of days. I then remembered that I was born and raised in Olympia, that it is still my home, and that serving this community has been the core of my life since long before I was on the Council.

I decided I was not going to let them take this from me. By them, I do mean the people that did this. I also experienced an outpouring of support that nearly overwhelmed me. Not just from my friends and family, but by the business community, average citizens I didn't know, and friends and colleagues from around the world. I still get hugs in the grocery store, out on walks, and that support, a community coming together to raise my spirits – that's the real story here. Most people said I was set up- but they also said they didn't care what I had done or not done, I was a good person, who served the community, and that was all that mattered.

I am still treasurer for the Thurston County Democrats, and will continue in that job as long as they will have me. I have already been contacted by several non-profit boards about serving on them. I still have issues to champion – cleaning up Budd Inlet, water quality, Zero Waste, making a park on the Isthmus, getting kids into the outdoors. I am taking more time for myself, sure ... but I am also planning volunteer work parties for my supporters, and trying to serve this community as best I can.

I do see myself as more of an activist now, with a free voice to say what I *really* think. Reforming the justice system, reforming the drug laws, ending sweat shops, ending the war in Afghanistan ... the list goes on and on.

They may have knocked me down, but the best revenge is not in striking back at them, but instead in standing up, brushing myself off, and getting back to work.

Mike: Well said, my friend. I believe the activist community will embrace you with open arms.

Jeff, what is your position with regard to marijuana? According to the way-too-public record in this matter, it appears that you use marijuana. I don't know if that's true, or why or how you would use marijuana. I am not sure how safe it is for anybody to admit to using marijuana in this environment, but it appears that you "sold" Joe on the premise that you used, and maybe even needed, marijuana. Can you speak in general terms about your thoughts on marijuana? And, if you think it's ok to use the substance, how do you think supply should work?

[Jeff Kingsbury declined to participate in this interview.]

Mike: I am disappointed that Jeff has failed to respond to a single question about these events. The lack of response leaves Jeff's behavior as one of the strangest aspects of this whole crime drama. His decision to wear a wire and work to set up the circumstances that would lead to your bust for sale is baffling. I think it was apparent almost immediately in this legal drama that you knew the identity of the confidential informant who jammed you up. Even in the situation where you might not be able to disclose the identity publicly, it seems likely that a lot of folks were going to sort all of this out fairly quickly. It's hard to see how any part of this makes Jeff look good, trust-worthy, or even reasonable. And yet, Jeff outs himself as the informant in the situation almost as soon as you make your plea deal. Even stranger, I believe Jeff's take on all of this is that he has acted honorably. He may actually be proud of what he has done. But how is this going to play out for him? Is anyone in town ever going to trust him again about anything? Jeff is a smart guy, this whole thing does not make any sense. It seems like there has to be more to this story than is known. The prosecutor's office has said straight out that their confidential informant was not making a deal, that there was no other pending prosecution. The denial itself seems a little strange. Olympia is a small town in a lot of ways. Do you have any remnant of concern about Jeff's situation?

Joe: I did know the moment I knew there was an informant who had 'bought' from me that it was Jeff. I am not in that business, I don't have customers, so it was not difficult to figure out. Also, the lies he told me to convince me to do this, in hindsight, were a little transparent. Looking back, I can't believe I fell for... but I admit, I was simply not acting rationally, instead emotionally.

Why would he do this? I have no idea. I supported and endorsed him in the last election. I supported him as a friend through many things. We worked together for an auction company, and he planned on having me work all his auctions this year. He was one of 20 people invited to my wedding. I just cannot understand how someone I considered a close personal friend could have this much jealousy, spite, and anger at me.

Many people did think he got arrested for something, and turned into a 'snitch'. But there is no arrest record, and as you say, the sheriff and prosecutor deny this. But how could someone voluntarily try and take away a friends life, livelihood, right to vote, and attempt to send them to prison for 7.5 years? It's beyond comprehension to me that anyone would wish this on another human being.

As I was being taken to the jail, I was certain that the next step was the Task Force questioning me about my sources of cannabis. Their mission is mid to high level dealers, so it just made sense they would try and move up the chain, and turn me into a snitch. I was never asked any of this by law enforcement. So I never had to face that choice. It appears Jeff did this voluntarily, however, so he

▸ **INTERVIEW,** continued on page 13

Prosecutor Ed Holm and Sheriff Dan Kimball on arresting Joe Hyer

Interview by Mike Coday

Mike Coday: Thanks for agreeing to talk with us about the raid on the home of Joe Hyer. As you know, the public has a lot questions regarding how that investigation developed, the tactics of the raid and the motivations behind the investigation, raid and prosecution.

Joe Hyer has stated that the six or seven police officers came through his door in body armor with their guns drawn. This seems like a wildly over-armed force to serve a search or arrest warrant at the home of a City Councilman, Mayor Pro Tem, and owner of local businesses. Nothing in Joe's politics or history would suggest that he posed a risk to police officers in this situation. How did this raid develop in this way?

Sheriff Dan Kimball: Let me briefly describe how drug investigations are normally handled in this county. Most cases are handled by the Thurston County Narcotics Task Force, a multi-agency team comprised of members of the Olympia Police, Lacey Police, and Tumwater Police departments, the Washington State Patrol, the Thurston County Sheriff's Office and the National Guard. The Thurston County Prosecuting Attorney's Office also has a deputy prosecuting attorney assigned to the Task Force. This Task Force is currently supervised by Lt. Loreli Thompson from the Lacey Police Department who currently answers to a Commander from the Olympia Police Department.

In this matter, the informant came to me initially stating they wanted to report a possible marijuana grow involving Mr. Hyer. After hearing what they had to say, I advised the informant that these type of cases would normally be handled by the Thurston County Narcotics Task Force and that I would be conveying the information provided to them. This is what I did the following day. From that point forward the Task Force developed and conducted the investigation according to their investigative protocols for this type of a case. As Sheriff I had nothing to do with this investigation from the time I forwarded it to the Task Force, other than to be advised later on (a few weeks later) that the case was moving forward from an investigative point-of-view. If you desire more information on the investigation, you might wish to contact Lt. Thompson at the Narcotics Task Force.

I handled the media on this matter due to the Task Force being concerned about the fact that the Olympia Police Department (currently commanding the unit) would be put in a bad situation having to comment on a case dealing with an Olympia City Council member.

From what I know of this matter this case was handled just like other cases dealing with marijuana grows; however I will admit that this is not my area of expertise (narcotics investigations) and would suggest again that you contact Lt. Thompson to get more information on that issue. Also, I am unaware of the costs associated with this case (again, since this is a Task Force case and not a Sheriff's Office case), but I would suspect the overall costs were quite low. I believe this was a fairly short and simple case from an investigative point-of-view.

Mike: That's helpful information, but it also raises more questions for me. Here is the first: So as a marijuana grow operation, this raid turned up no evidence that Hyer was operating no significant grow operation, isn't that correct? The various statements that I have read on the marijuana seized suggest that Hyer had a grow operation in the same way a person with a sprouted avocado on a window sill has an orchard. Do you agree with that characterization?

Sheriff Kimball: I would suggest that you ask Lt. Thompson about the evidence found during the search warrant service. I am not certain as to what evidence was found and I would not wish to mischaracterize what was or was not located.

Mike: [The following questions were emailed to Lt. Thompson.] Lt. Thompson, Sheriff Kimball has told us that the Hyer investigation started with a report of a marijuana grow operation. Did the Narcotics Task Force investigation and raid turn up any hardware or equipment that suggested a marijuana grow operation? And when/why did this investigation move to using the informant to wear a wire to secure evidence of sales instead of execution of a simple search warrant to determine if there was a marijuana grow operation at the Hyer residence? How many pounds or ounces of drugs were discovered in the raid of this "drug dealer's" home? Can you tell us how the initial report of a grow operation turned into a fairly pro-active effort to secure an arrest for sale?

[Lt. Thompson declined to respond or provide any answers or information regarding the questions asked.]

Mike: Lt. Thompson, Joe Hyer has reported that the police officers in his home were almost apologetic, that he was told that the officers were conducting the raid in the way that the "bosses" ordered them to. Can you tell us what orders you or anyone else gave regarding this raid?

How many pounds or ounces of drugs were discovered in the raid of this "drug dealer's" home? Can you tell us how the initial report of a grow operation turned into a fairly pro-active effort to secure an arrest for sale?

[Lt. Thompson also declined to answer or respond to this question.]

Prosecutor Ed Holm: All I can say to this set of questions is that the orders I gave to my employee, Scott Jackson, was to treat him (Hyer) like anybody else would be treated. As far as I know this was done, and no unusual expenditures were spent on this case. In addition, the entering into a drug dealer's house in the manner described does not seem unusual. I believe the answers given by Sheriff Kimball are probably accurate, but I know very few details about the matter.

Mike: That sounds like a reasonable idea, to tell your employee to treat Hyer like anybody else when you say it, but isn't the truth of the matter that in this case, Joe Hyer was really quite different than most of us in the community and probably anyone in Thurston County that would fit the description of drug dealer. After all, we are talking about a police raid on the home of a City Councilman and owner of several businesses. Don't those circumstances suggest some special scrutiny? And once you start thinking about the status of the target of the investigation and the identity of the informant – a past City Councilman, who had recently lost a pretty combative election, doesn't all of that cause you to stop and think hard about what is really going on here, and to what extent this investigation and prosecution were based at least in part on a political hit? Are you both willing to state unequivocally that there were no other investigations of any other parties in this matter that were used to persuade the informants to inform and cooperate so intensely with the investigators?

Prosecutor Holm: Mr. Hyer was no different than any other drug dealer, and was treated no differently. What office he held and how many businesses he owns is irrelevant. No special scrutiny was used, and no special consideration or other investigations were even contemplated by me. My answers to your questions are complete and accurate.

Sheriff Kimball: I can state with 100% certainty that the informant in this case came forward on his own volition with no encouragement from me or my office. At the time the initial allegations were provided to me I had no previous knowledge of anything like this about Mr. Hyer.

Mike: I understand that Prosecutor's Office secured a plea deal that allows you to describe Hyer as a drug dealer, but this still looks like a political hit job to a lot of folks in the South Sound. Hyer has stated that there was no attempt to persuade him as a "drug dealer" to disclose anything about his drug sources as part of a deal. This elaborate drug sting, with buys recorded by a guy wearing a wire, just started and stopped with Hyer. I am no fan of the war on drugs and I don't want to give the impression that I think the investigation should have gone farther, but the circumstances here suggest strongly that Hyer was the sole target of this bust and that just looks like a political hit.

I am also thinking about the dispute that took place between the County Commissioners and the Sheriff's Office in 2009 regarding the Commissioners' resolutions that identified management positions in the Sheriff's Office that should be eliminated to control costs and Sheriff Kimball's lawsuit filed against the Commissioners over that matter. Hyer had experience with restructuring public agencies and reducing management and not just front line workers in his time on the Council for Olympia. He appeared poised to bring those skills to the Treasurer position where he might have been in a position to help the Commissioners with their desire to see that cuts in the Sheriff's Office were not confined to deputies and jail staff, that there were also cuts and reorganization in the higher levels of the Sheriff's Office. This elaborate bust killed that possibility. This doesn't pass the smell test for me.

It is also disturbing that you have both have deferred specific questions about Hyer's "drug dealing" to the Narcotics Task Force and Lt. Thompson has declined to respond in any way to the questions. Are either of you or anyone with the Prosecutor's Office, the Sheriff's Office or the Narcotics Task Force willing to detail the quantity of drugs, money, grow operation hardware that was seized in the raid? Will either or both you state categorically that there was no political motivation to this investigation, arrest and prosecution?

Sheriff Kimball: The County Treasurer (whomever it may be) has no say over the operations of the county sheriff's office.

I am not able to answer questions about specifics of the case as I do not have them. It would be inappropriate for me to attempt to speak further for the Narcotics Task Force as they do not work under my direct control.

Lastly, I will say (again) with complete confidence that the investigation and prosecution of Mr. Hyer was not politically motivated by my office nor by Mr. Holm's office. When a citizen brings forward a complaint of this nature, in my opinion, it would be inappropriate and unethical for a county sheriff to in essence ignore the complaint and do nothing. I handled this complaint as I would have any other of a similar nature, regardless of who the suspect may be. I have taken an oath to uphold and to enforce the law to the best of my ability, no matter what my personal beliefs may be. That is what I did in this case and that is what I will do in the future through December 31, 2010.

Mike: Well, thanks to both of you for taking the time to respond to some questions. I think the questions about Joe Hyer as drug dealer have not been resolved. It is clear that neither of you want to detail the evidence seized in the Hyer bust to substantiate the drug dealer story and I guess for now, I will have to let the lack of detail and disclosure speak for itself in this matter.

TRADITIONS
CAFE & WORLD FOLK ART
WWW.TRADITIONSFAIRTRADE.COM
FAIR TRADE FEDERATION
300 5th Avenue SW
Olympia 98501
360-705-2819
Store Hours
M-F: 9-6 Sat: 10-6 Sun: 12-5

The Olympia Free Herbal Clinic is open again!

The Clinic has a new office space in downtown Olympia.

Our open hours are:

Tuesdays	**3 to 7 pm**
Wednesdays	**5 to 7 pm**
Thursdays	**3 to 7 pm**

In the White Building on 4th Avenue (across from the Reef and above Last Word Books) in Room 212. The entrance is to the right of Last Word Books. Our office is up the stairs, down the hall, and to the right.

They are currently accepting applications for internships. Areas of focus include:

- Fundraising
- Donations and advertising
- Medicine
- Receptionist

Their wish list:

- Medicine-making supplies
- Clean, empty tincture bottles
- Organically cultivated or ethically wild-crafted herbs
- Books on herbal medicine, anatomy&physiology, herb/drug interactions, etc.

Poetry corner

The Great Escapes
by Ronnie Cruickshank

In a quiet moment, in a quiet spot,
wishing for someplace to go,
but knowing I can not…

Body held by captors, put inside a box,
lots of great big shiny keys,
lots of great big locks.

But they don't know the magic,
locked inside of me,
because even when I'm locked up,
I can still be free.

The key to the horizon,
the key that sets me free,
is my imagination,
And they can't take that from me.

I visit with my family,
we hang out for awhile,
I hope for them the very best
and I sit here and I smile…

I drive up in the mountains,
enjoy the clean crisp air,
I walk along the shaded paths,
as my body sits and stares.

I walk along the beaches,
I gaze out at the sea,
I feel the sand beneath my feet,
As a guard looks in on me.

So yes my mind can take me
where my body cannot go,
and I can make my great escapes
and they will never know…

Men With Guns
by Joe Hyer

Fear- paralyzing and sudden.
The violence of their entry
Haunts my very soul- memory is long,
Longer still the space between heart-beats
When their aim is trained on you-
Fingers on the trigger, no safety now,
No space for error.
It seems forever 'til my heart might beat again.

Noise- Loudly they enter,
Armored against my- my what?
I have no arms, never have, still they come,
Men with guns,
Too many to count, all trained on me-
Daring me to run, to move, to incite
The violent ends the guns point to.

I see them still, clear as that day
In my mind's eye- not the men,
Just the guns.
Try to shake them, make them fade.
Still they point, train on me,
I am frozen in their gaze.

Frozen- I cannot feel, cannot grasp,
Why such men with guns would come at me.
My home is theirs.
I am not myself.
Can never be again.
I feel those barrels, trained on me,
Unrelenting, unswerving,
Following me even now-
I cannot shake these men with guns.
I cannot shake these men with guns.

Scott Yoos distributes flyers from the War Resisters League at the Downtown Olympia Post Office on tax day, April 15, 2010. For more information, go to the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee website: www.nwtrcc.org

Tree: a meditation
(by Harriet Ammann, one of Olympia's "Women In Black")

Twisted and gnarled, resisting
storm and wind
roots reaching centuries into the earth
reaching for the water that brings the sheltering leaves
sheltering the lambs and the children from the fierce sun
and bringing the fruit, the blessed fruit the olives
pressed hard for the oil

"oh how good it is and how pleasant for brothers to sit together in peace and unity, as pleasant as the oil that runs from Aaron's beard," says the psalmist
And oil that soothes waters troubled by god's wrath
and the oil that is brought to feed the fire that is to consume the beloved son Isaac at the bidding of a jealous god
the son in the garden weeping, sweating in fear of what is to come, the olive trees above, and blood pouring into the ground

the trees uprooted, the machines grinding them to dust, tearing the fabric of the land
and the oil that soothes flowing into the ground, and the mouths of the children empty
And Rachel, Rachel, crying for her children, for they are no more
Rachel, the long-awaited beloved of Jacob, standing like a tree before the wind, saying Jacob's words, "you shall not pass to my side to do an injury"

Last Word Books comes back to Evergreen State Campus. Photo by Mike Coday.

The Olympia-Rafah Mural under construction. Photo by Berd Whitlock.

Last Word Books returns to Evergreen

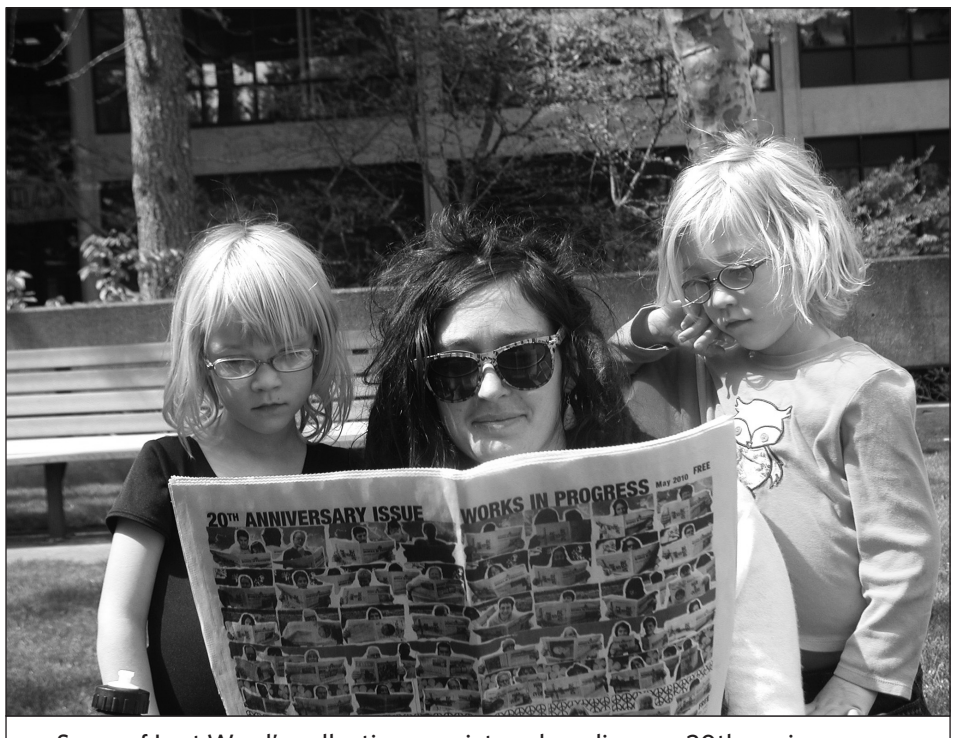
From the fall quarter of 2000 to Fall of 2009, Sky Cosby was a welcome vendor of radical books on the Evergreen Campus. Sky Cosby opened Last Word Books in downtown Olympia around 2002, but continued to sell books at the Evergreen Campus on a weekly basis.

The Evergreen State College refused to sell Cosby and Last Word Books a vendor permit in the fall of 2009, but Cosby returned to Red Square on May 22 as a vendor in the Creative Commons Festival, the last day of the Synergy Conference.

Despite a long history of cooperation between TESC and Last Word Books, a moratorium on outside vendors developed in the Summer of 2009 that appeared broadly aimed at vendors of food, books, and clothing items, the only outside business that was banned from campus by the moratorium was Last Word Books.

Cosby and Last Word Books was one of many community businesses and groups setting up at the Creative Community Festival.

Here are some pictures from a great day on TESC campus.



Some of Last Word's collective are pictured reading our 20th anniversary edition, perpetuating our insecure meta-cycle of people photographed reading our paper. Photo by Mike Coday.

STYLING · CUTS · COLOR · PERMS
DEEP CONDITIONING · MANICURES · PEDICURES · MASSAGE · ASTROLOGY · TAROT
FREE CONSULTATIONS · FREE BANG TRIMS
"We'll trim it, rub it, or read it"
JAMIE LEE & COMPANY
309 E. 4TH AVE.
OLYMPIA, WA 98501
360-786-6027
JAMIELEEANDCOMPANY.COM
KAOS patron business.
BOTANICAL HAIR CARE PRODUCTS

The Gaza flotilla massacre - May 31, 2010

from WIP News Service

The recent raids by the Israeli Defense Forces on several humanitarian vessels bringing aid to the people of Gaza represent a stark escalation in the ongoing Israeli occupation of Palestine. While the killing of Palestinians involved in non-violent protest have become commonplace in occupied Gaza, the slaughter of nine humanitarians aboard the MV Mavi Marmara in international waters on a mission of peace has sparked a global outcry. The call to end the siege on Gaza is louder now than ever.

Of course, no Israeli atrocity is complete without the Israeli propaganda machine spinning a complex web of lies and misdirections, nor is it without attempts by the Israeli government to suppress the truth.

What follows are some key points in the discussions about the Gaza flotilla massacre.

• The day of the massacre, an Israeli spokesperson characterized the activists as "known terrorists," and suggested that as many as 40 of the passengers were members of Al-Qaeda. To support their claim, the IDF issued a press release titled "Attackers of the IDF soldiers found to be Al Qaeda mercenaries." However, independent journalists asked for evidence to back up this claim. Eventually, multiple IDF spokespeople admitted they had no evidence to back up the claim. The next day, the title of the press release had changed to "Attackers of the IDF Soldiers Found Without Identification Papers."

In fact, just some of the dignitaries aboard the convoy included members of various national Parliaments, a Nobel Laureate, a former US Ambassador, and the former UN Assistant Secretary-General.

• Within hours of the massacre, Israel had released excerpts of its surveillance video. Israel has claimed it was the flotilla activists who attacked the IDF soldiers first, and that it was thus the IDF soldiers who acted in self-defense.

Israel points to their video excerpt as proof of their claim of self-defense. However, the video proves nothing of the sort. All the video shows is a melee. Any fight can be edited to portray any one side as the aggressor.

• Israel claims they were the victims of this confrontation. However, the confrontation was initiated by the Israeli military, in international waters, outside of the Gaza blockade zone.

While the different sides disagree on who fired first, there is no disagreement on the body count. Nine humanitarian activists dead, zero Israelis dead. Despite that discrepency, Israeli spokespeople have suggested their soldiers were subjected to a "lynching."

• Just before this issue went to print, a Turkish newspaper released photos of IDF soldiers in the care of activists. Despite the confrontation, the photos show the activist medics treating the soldiers' injuries.

• Turkish authorities conducted their own autopsies on the victims of the flotilla massacre. The autopsies found the nine dead were shot 30 times, five of them in the head. Many of the wounds were in the back, suggesting the victims were running away when they were shot.

• Despite being so free with selective portions of their military video, Israel has blocked free access to electronic evidence that could shed light on the situation. The Israeli Navy set up an electorinc blackout not long after engaging the flotilla, and has since confiscated all audio and video recordings taken by the passengers. Israel has controlled the flow of evidence, leaving us to piece together the events from eyewitness accounts and whatever evidence (in whatever context) Israel decides is fit for public consumption.

• Israel has repeatedly referred to a cache of prepared weapons as evidence that the humanitarian activists prepared to attack the IDF soldiers. However, their own surveillance video, which Israel points to as evidence of these weapons, shows activists wielding deck chairs, and other such improvised weapons at IDF soldiers.

• Israeli propagandists have tried to portray this as some sort of secret ambush on the part of the activists. However, the flotilla's organizers were very public about their intentions, and their identity. Also, this was not the first relief flotilla to attempt to break the Gaza siege. One prior ship, carrying former U.S. Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, was rammed by an Israeli Navy vessel. Every prior flotilla was non-violent, even in the face of a violent Israeli response.

Olympia activists show up in droves on May 31 for an emergency rally, condemning the Israeli attack on aid for Gaza. Photos by Berd Whitlock.

• Israel has attempted to paint itself as the reasonable party looking for a fair solution. In truth, both sides made gestures at compromise, but only on their terms. Israel offered the aid flotilla dock at the Port of Ashdod in Israel (despite their belief that the ship was full of terrorists), where the IDF would inspect the cargo and then pass the aid material, minus items Israel has banned like cement, on to Gaza. The humanitarians refused this offer.

Conversely, the ship had been inspected for weapons before leaving port, and the cargo sealed to prevent tampering mid-voyage. Organizers offered Israel to send their own people to inspect the cargo before delivery to Gaza. Israel refused this offer.

For both sides, it was never about the cargo itself, but rather the land and sea blockade of Gaza. Israel sought a compromise that would deliver some material while maintaining the blockade, and the activists sought a compromise that would assuage Israeli fears while still challenging the blockade. The real issue is the blockade, which various human rights groups such as Amnesty International have strongly condemned as collective punishment. No single flotilla of aid is adequate to address the humanitarian crisis this blockade represents.

• Despite Israeli offers to pass the aid material on to Gaza, there are a number of materials Israel has banned from entering Gaza, namely cement and other building materials. While such materials are necessary to rebuild Gazan infrastructure, Israel has banned these materials on the grounds that they could be used to build bunkers.

Thus, Israel is fine with the Palestinian deaths that accompany the blockade as long as the people of Gaza maintain a dependency on foreign aid. Palestinian self-sufficiency is what Israel seeks to prevent.

• Israel has rejected demands for an independent, international probe into the flotilla raid. Rather, they have said they will conduct their own investigation.

• While it's important to set the record straight on the flotilla massacre, by calling into question every element of the peace mission to Gaza, Israel has successfully misdirected the discussion from where it ought to be, yet again. The real issue is the genocide in Gaza, which the humanitarians set out to challenge.

• Despite Israel's sincerest attempts to explain the incident away, the world is not buying their propaganda. Turkey and South Africa have recalled their ambassadors to Israel. Dock workers in Sweden have announced a week-long moratorium on Israeli goods as a protest. More recently, following Israel's seizure of the MV Rachel Corrie, an Irish-based vessel, both Ireland and North Ireland were united in their condemnation of what they called a "a completely unacceptable and unjustified use of force." And locally, Palestine activists have compelled the Evergreen State College to formally divest from Israeli business.

LOCALLY OWNED SINCE 1993
ORCA BOOKS
509 E. 4th Ave
Olympia, WA 98501
360-352-0123
www.orcabooks.com orca@orcabooks.com

▸ **ARIZONA,** continued from page 1

joined by Yaqui community organizer Jose Matus, who directs the Indigenous Alliance Without Borders. The Alianza Indígena Sin Fronteras brings together Indigenous peoples in the US and Mexico for free access across the boundary that cut through their ancestral lands (like on the northern border), for the revitalization and free exchange of native culture and language, and an end to racial profiling, harassment, walls and other repressive practices--onyl the most recent being SB1070.

SB1070 is inspired by Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio, who has been raiding businesses, yard sales and even public libraries, and interning prison stripe-clad immigrants in the "Tent City" concentration camp. See the film "Crossing Arizona" and clips from the upcoming film "90 Days to Phoenix": youtube.com/user/90daystophoenix.

Arpaio is supported by the likes of John McCain, whose billboard proclaims he "is fighting for a secure border." At least 110 bodies have been recovered from the desert since October, making more than 4,000 since Clinton's Operation Gatekeeper in 1995 (mainly in Arizona). 70% of the recovered bodies are unrecognizable by sex. Many of the dead have actually petitioned for legal entry (often to help a sick relative), but the discriminatory process is so slow that the government is just now getting to the 1993 applications. They cannot wait to help a relative or attend a funeral, so make the dangerous trek through the desert, and don't make it. Many bodies are never recovered.

Every weekday at 1:30 pm, Operation Streamline processes 70 detained immigrants in the federal courthouse in Tucson (one of five cities). I witnessed this **mass trial**, which can only be compared to a slave auction or the mass trial after the Santee uprising. The Mexican men and women are separately led in chains (binding their hands to waist and feet) in front of a judge. They had refused to voluntarily deport themselves, and requested a hearing to make their case. But because they were repeat offenders or were forced by cartels to be "drug mules," they were processed and deported in this humiliating way.

Because mass trials were declared illegal by the 9th Circuit, the judge asked the detainees if they preferred an individual trial, but that would mean six more months in detention--so they all said no. Many of them are Indigenous, but if they don't understand Spanish they cannot participate in this process (because more interpreters are too expensive). They were dressed in their own clothes, because by processing 70 people every weekday, the feds have run out of orange jumpsuits.

Indigenous Scholars rally

At least 100 Indigenous scholars, activists and allies attended a protest on Friday in front of the US Immigration Court in Tucson. It was organized by O'odham Solidarity Across Borders, Taala Hooghan Infoshop, Southern California Native Feminist Group, Council Advocating an Indigenous Manifesto, and other groups. Some NAISA members attended (leaving the NAISA conference while it was in session), but the NAISA leadership was noticeably absent.

Josh Elliot and others in Bridges Not Walls made a nice solidarity banner for us to take to Tucson and hold at the rally. The banner read: "Detention, Criminalization NO! Resistencia SI! Olympia Stands with Tucson." My Evergreen colleague Kristina Ackley and I held the Olympia banner. It was mentioned on local TV that people attended from as far as Washington state, but there were also people from Ontario, Hawai'i, Aotearoa/New Zealand, and elsewhere.

The Indigenous scholars and allies held banners and signs such as "No HB2281--Decriminalize Ethnic Studies," "Ethnic Solidarity is not Racism," and "When the Culture Dies, the People Die." They also held the banner "No SB1070: Racial Profiling Targets Indigenous Peoples," since many of the people who have died or been detained are Mexican and

Olympia organizer takes it to the streets on May Day to protest Arizona legislation against immigrants. Photo by Hilary Hacker.

moral and economic.

Immigrant Rights Movement educates Latinos (documented or not) of their rights as citizens and helps them mobilize themselves against such attacks.

Demonstrations were held including one in October which drew 120,000 protesters into the streets of L.A., whose majority population is Latino. (L.A. was the scene of a rebellion a few short years ago.) High school students took some initiative, seeing their present and future in jeopardy, and organized demonstrations with significant cries like "We didn't cross the border, it crossed us!"

Forward strategies

It is important to note that only 35 percent of the population voted, meaning only 20 percent actively favored 187. Fifty-five percent of all eligible Latino voters turned out, the largest segment of the population by percentage. Varied sources report that 75 percent of Latinos voted against 187, about 50 percent of blacks and Asians voted against 187, and 33 percent of whites voted against 187. These numbers seem to indicate that the Latinos recognized themselves as the targets of 187, which they are, and that blacks and Asians understood this as well to a degree. Perhaps coalition building across communities of color could help dispel the economic myths of 187 and make the racism much more pronounced.

The facts of Latinos (documented or not) indicate that they do not hurt the economy, but quite the opposite, keep it going by filling in the low wage sector. Many Latinos work for minimal and sub-minimal wages in agricultural and production industries. They do not want to interact with government agencies for fear of being found out or harassed. It is estimated that after paying taxes, each Latino worker will contribute $20,000 more than they get back from the system. Demographics show explicitly that the order of groups on welfare is whites first, then blacks, and then Latinos.

Proposition 187 is a racist attempt to deny Latinos education, pre-natal care, recourse to law, etc. even when they are born in the U.S. By law all state employees, police, teachers, etc. would be required to turn people in on suspicion, to suspect those who are different. It would empower the racists in all walks of life: to deny selling a Latino an apple pie without documentation of citizen status; to firing a Latino for being one of "them"; to ignore accusations of rape if the victim is Latino; to basically declare and have open season on those who are different.

Proposition 187 is to take effect with the new year, but it will be tied up in the courts as its constitutionality is determined. One of the strategies for opposition is to start a non-compliance pledge campaign, where individuals and groups sign a pledge refusing to comply with 187's implementation. There is a big role that unions can play in organizing, in pledging, and in funding voter registration drives.

Another traditional source of organizational skill could come from the Democrats, but that is unlikely seeing how they were conspicuously absent in opposing 187. They have not for years represented moral or economic opposition to this kind of hate. (In fact, it was the Republicans who came out against it, calling it racism!)

For those of us outside California, possible boycotts will be called on the companies that helped fund Proposition 187. The companies already enjoy the benefits of California's frozen tax structure and the fruits of minimal and sub-minimal wage laborers. Possibly a boycott of the State of California will be called, encouraging everyone there to think again about institutionalizing racism and discrimination. (Boycotts of Arizona and Colorado have already worked!)

What is really needed is a broad based progressive movement to undermine racism and respect the benefits that come from multiculturalism. As always, remember to educate and agitate, here and everywhere.

A similar proposition of law could be proposed in the State of Washington next by the same radical right forces that played on people's fears about the economy to whip up racist hysteria. We need to organize now to prevent this madness in our state.

WIP History

California's Proposition 187: Institutionalizing racism

In reviewing the entire WIP catalog for our 20th anniversary issue last month, we found hundreds of great articles that didn't quite fit our objectives for that project. Starting this month, we'll print some of the best. One article every month: either something from WIP's archive, or a new article on a historical topic.

There's a lot of great articles, and a lot of time to get to them. But with the racist laws recently passed in Arizona, we moved this article to the head of the line.

By Pat Tassoni
January 1995

On December 14th, Tim Marshall of Immigrant Rights Movement of San Francisco spoke on the resistance campaign against Proposition 187 in California. Tim, a student at San Francisco State toured the Northwest to educate people about the passage of Proposition 187 and the coalition he is working with to resist implementation. This presentation was sponsored by Puget Sound Solidarity.

Proposition 187 was passed by the voters of California in the 1994 General Election and requires not only deportation of undocumented workers, but also requires teachers, social workers, and other non-law enforcement officials to demand identification from "people suspected of being illegal immigrants," and to report findings to the authorities.

Among the implications of Proposition 187:

** Children suspected of being illegal must prove their citizenship or their teacher must report them to Immigration.*

** All state-funded services (except emergency medical) are prohibited for undocumented workers, and the providers of those services are required to demand identification and proof of citizenship as well.*

** Teachers and other officials are vulnerable to prosecution if they fail to get identification or report findings to the authorities.*

-Puget Sound Solidarity flyer

Proposition 187, called Save Our State, was originally funded by the Pioneer Fund, a 1930s white supremacist group that continues to compare the "races" through pseudo-scientific research of their cranium and such a la *The Bell Curve*. Since then many corporations signed on to help finance 187.

The passage of 187 is a victory for the far right, who have played off the racist fears of California citizens to pass off the responsibilities of their economic woes. Undocumented immigrants and Latinos in general are scapegoated as being the cause and continuing problem for California's failing economy. But this is hardly the case.

Economically, California's tax structure was frozen in 1979 with Proposition 13, meaning corporations and property owners pay taxes on the assessed value of their property in 1979. This of course means less funds now, resulting in shrinking state services and the loss and inadequate maintenance of schools, parks and libraries. As California's depression and unemployment continues to increase due to military and other layoffs, racist rhetoric paints the situation as "Our jobs, not theirs."

As a part of America, California's history is full of racism: colonization; statehood; the 1880s anti-Chinese railroad labor laws and marriage restrictions; the anti-Latino environment of the 1930s and 40s; World War II Japanese concentration camps, etc.

As California's depression and unemployment continues to increase due to military and other layoffs, racist rhetoric paints the situation as "Our jobs, not theirs."

Proposition 187 is the most recent ploy meant to exacerbate race relations, following "English only" laws which racists use to paint the situation as "Our culture, not theirs."

Response strategies

Proposition 187 gathered its support outside the multi-ethnic, multicultural, metropolitan cities like Los Angeles. Signatures were gathered from rural, isolated communities (just like the Christian Supremacist groups here in the Pacific Northwest gathering support for their anti-gay initiatives). The people who were to be directly affected by 187 never saw it until it appeared on the ballot. Without time to spare, various strategies were enacted.

A group called Taxpayers United centered themselves around the problem from a fiscal perspective, saying 187 was the wrong solution to immigration problems. They feared the loss of federal funds for schools. They didn't voice any moral reason for opposing 187.

California United, comprised of teachers unions, healthcare unions, social services unions, etc., opposed 187 with the slogan "No one is illegal!" Their opposition was

Central American Indigenous people. My favorite banner showed two cartoonish Pilgrims, with the words "This is What an Illegal Immigrant Looks Like." A sign similarly read "Our Ancestors were Legal in 1492."

One of the strong voices of the Indigenous boycott at NAISA was Laguna Pueblo poet Simon Ortiz. NAISA members supporting the boycott conditions (such as students from UC-Davis) left the conference to join him at the May 21 protest. Professor Roberto Rodriguez from the University of Arizona was another boycott leader who asked that the NAISA conference be transformed to oppose the apartheid laws. He always reminded us that the laws are "nothing new," but the culmination of many decades of anti-immigrant and anti-Native legislation in the state.

Ortiz and Rodriguez were joined by NAISA members such as Columbia Assistant Professor Audra Simpson. When a white bus driver yelled for the protesters to "Get a Job! Get an Education," she yelled back "We have a job and an education: we're Professors! Show me your papers, white lady!" (That made my week.)

Mike Wilson, who spoke at the rally, is a Tohono O'odham humanitarian activist who has left water stations in the desert so immigrants crossing the Sonoran Desert can live. Many of the deaths have been concentrated in the reservation. He is very critical of his own tribal government, which has taken Homeland Security funds to strengthen the border (even as it opposes a border wall), and has refused to help his efforts, and even dismantled some of his water stations. He also reminded us that Tucson is Tohono O'odham land, and that U.S. settlers, Mexicanos and Chicanos are guests on this territory.

Common chants were "We didn't cross the borders, the borders crossed us," and Native Education, not Incarceration." Another chant by Native professors was "Tom Horne, Take Our Class, You Can Stay, If You Pass." Numerous other signs connected the ban on ethnic studies to the history of the boarding school, which tried to assimilate and destroy Indigenous cultures: "Kill our histories to save your privilege." By far the most powerful part of the rally and the Arizona movement was the voice of the youth--such as the Tucson students, and these Diné (Navajo) women who closed the rally with a traditional song.

Indigenous occupation of Border Patrol

On the same day as the May 21 Indigenous scholars rally, a group of Indigenous activists occupied the Border Patrol office on Davis-Montham Air Force Base in Tucson. Six were cited and released, but face heavy fines and fees, and are asking for financial assistance from around the country.

Their statement included "An end to border militarization, The immediate repeal of SB1070 and 287g, An end to all racial profiling and the criminalization of our communities, NO to ethnic cleansing or cultural genocide, border patrol encroachment/sweeps on sovereign native land, Deportations, Raids, ID-verification, and Checkpoints; YES to immediate and unconditional regularization ("legalization") of all people, human rights, dignity, and respecting Indigenous Peoples inherent right of migration. See the video and full statement at oodhamsolidarity.blogspot.com Send donations to O'odham Solidarity Across Borders Collective, 7211 W Alta Vista Rd, Laveen, AZ 85339.

Derechos Humanos held a dance benefit with fantastic salsa and reggaeton DJs at the Rialto Theater. The movement has grown dramatically in recent weeks, and pressure builds on Brewer, Horne and Arpaio, from around the country and world. The movement is asking people to join in "Freedom Rides" to bring organizers to Arizona, witness Operation Streamline at the courthouse, and set up "Freedom Schools" for ethnic studies. The pro-immigrant groups are urging people outside Arizona to cancel planned conferences, trips and business in the state, boycott and protest the Diamondbacks, Frito Lay products, and Budweiser (that's a tough one).

They also want us to attend the May 29 National Day of Action at the Capitol in Phoenix (housing is available), and stop the spread of SB1070 and HB2281-type laws to other states. In Leilani Clark's words, "What happens in Arizona does not stay in Arizona."

For more information on how to support the upcoming actions, visit Todos Somos Arizona (derechoshumanosaz.net) and Alto Arizona (PuenteAZ.org and http://www.AltoArizona.com)

My NAISA presentation "'Who's the Illegal Alien, 'Pilgrim?': Intersections between Indigenous and Immigrant Geographies" is at http://tinyurl.com/2f3jl8x

WE WANT TO REASSURE THE WORLD THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION IS WORKING WITH BP AND ALL THE OTHER MAJOR ENERGY COMPANIES AND EVERY OTHER INDUSTRIAL POWER IN THE WORLD TO FIGURE OUT A WAY TO TRANSFORM ALL OIL INTO A COLORLESS LIQUID SO THAT, AS IT IS WITH OUR AIR POLLUTION, OUR COLLECTIVE DESTRUCTION OF THE ECOSYSTEM WILL NEVER AGAIN BE MADE AS OBVIOUS AND STOMACH-TURNING AS IT'S BEEN WITH THE GULF SPILL.
MR.FISH

Cheryl Crist for Congress

by Cheryl Crist

My name is Cheryl Crist and I'm running for Congress because I still believe in hope and change. When we send young men and women to kill and die around the world, when 18 thousand Americans die from lack of health care each year, and when Washington State has more than nine percent unemployment, my conscience compels me to stand up for peace, for prosperity, and for the people of the 3rd District.

A resident of Southwest Washington since 1984 when I moved here with my son, I have held a number of positions that have prepared me to understand the problems we face. I have worked as a public high school teacher, a college administrator, a real estate agent, a stockbroker, and a manager of a local non-profit organization providing services to people with mental disabilities. And since my retirement in 2002, I have become active in politics to create a culture of peace. However, this coming election is not just about me—it's about all of us and who we want to represent our interests in Washington, D.C.. So here is where I stand:

• Wall Street must be reined in by reinstituting and strengthening financial regulations. As a former financial consultant in a major brokerage firm, I remember when banks were a safe investment. Regulations, now repealed, prevented banks from gambling with their customers' savings. We need to bring back the Glass-Steagall Act and create a new consumer financial protection agency to make banking boring again.

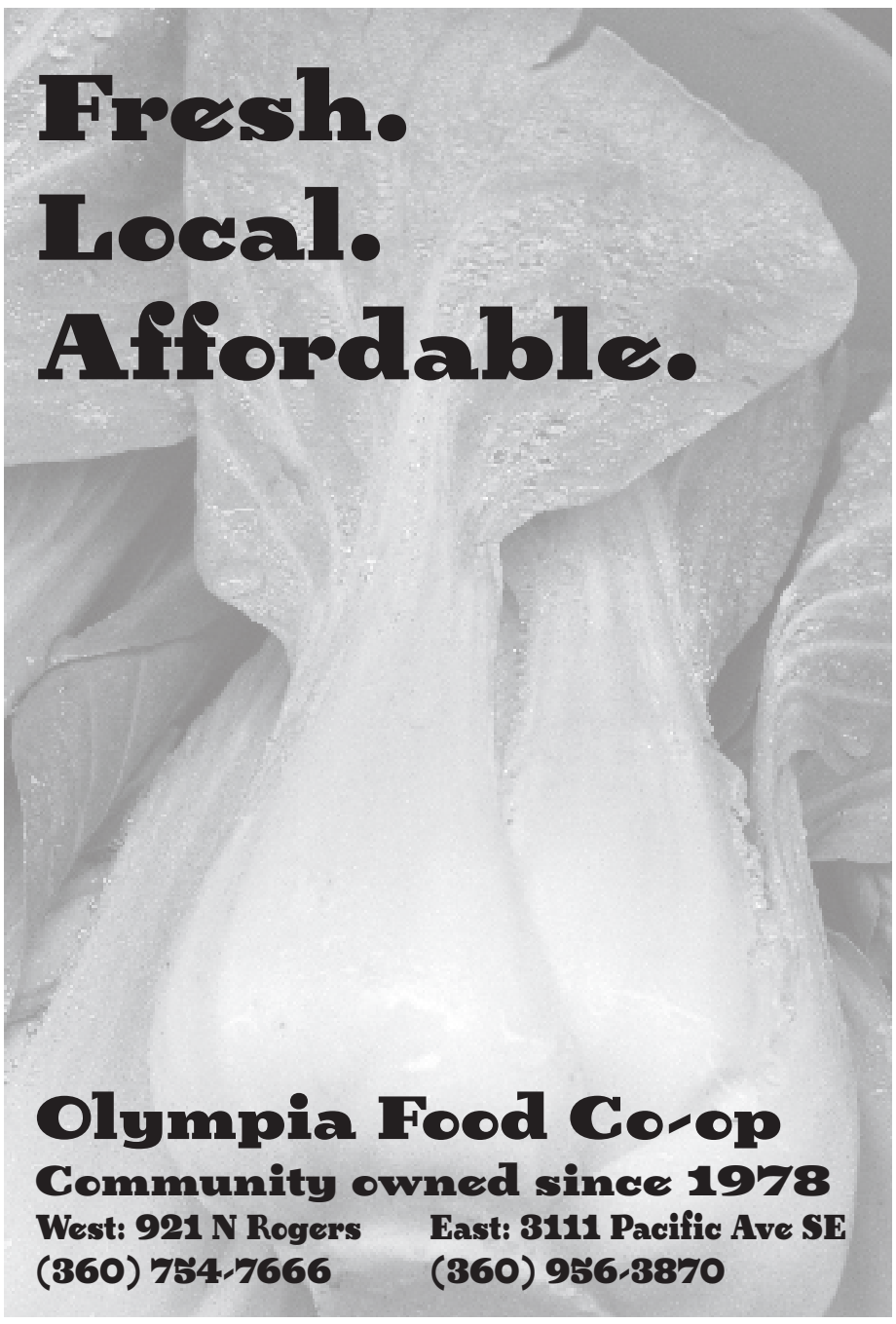
• Our troops must be brought home and work must begin to foster a peace economy. I was married to an Air Force pilot and I have a son currently active-duty also in the Air Force. I know that we can keep our country safe without bombing and occupying other countries. We have spent hundreds of billions of dollars on battleships to fight box cutters when we could have provided vital social services, stimulated a sustainable economic recovery, and continued to pay down the debt.

• What remains of crucial social services need to be preserved by generating new sources of revenue that won't harm working families and small businesses. I support a small federal tax on purchases and sales in the financial markets that would generate billions of dollars in new revenue that could be used by states to protect social services, or to reduce the national debt. This tax would exempt personal investments and individual retirement accounts without hurting the massive derivative market.

• This country needs to fund a sustainable economic recovery with jobs that will contribute to the health of people and the planet. We can't afford to have a "jobless recovery" while our energy and transportation infrastructure is in need of repair. Instead, we can build a new bridge across the Columbia, prevent flooding, build renewable energy infrastructure, increase energy efficiency, and restore habitat, all while putting Southwest Washington back to work in safe, sustainable, union jobs.

• While I applaud President Obama and Congress for passing health care reform, I continue to work for single-payer health care to ensure everyone has access to affordable health care, and that insurance companies are held accountable. Single-payer health care remains the most efficient, most accessible, most affordable system.

I ask for your vote on August 17. The 3rd District needs a congressional representative who listens to all people, not just those who shout the loudest or spend the most money. If we are to solve the problems we face, we must seek accurate information, find places where we agree, and work together in a spirit of good will. Send me to Congress and, together, we'll bring government back on the side of the people.



▸ **SPORTS,** continued from page 5

police had let Roethlisberger, a white player, off the hook, another Steelers player, wide receiver Santonio Holmes (who had caught the Super Bowl winning touchdown pass just a year earlier), had been implicated in a fight in an Orlando bar. Although Holmes, a black player, was not charged with anything, the Steelers unceremoniously traded him to the New York Jets in exchange for basically nothing (a fifth round draft pick). The timing of the trade, and the lack of compensation, sent a clear message. This wasn't about the Steelers getting a good offer for Holmes; this was about shipping Holmes out of town, as fast as possible.

This made the racial disparity obvious to the point of mockery. People began to ask "Oh, so you'll ship off the black guy, but you'll keep the white guy?" But the sports media largely evaded a frank (and much needed) discussion about race in the NFL with a few standby responses.

First, they pointed out that Holmes had been cited for possession of marijuana, making him guilty of something in the court of law, whereas no charges have been pursued against Roethlisberger, leaving him "innocent until proven guilty" under the law. This, however, ignores the racial disparity of the justice system. Statistics have shown non-whites are much more likely to be convicted of a crime when accused, and receive longer sentences than whites. Black men are less than 10% of the overall population, but make up 35.4% of the prison population. Jurors are disproportionately older and white, and thus more susceptible to racial misconceptions. It is rare that a young, poor person of color truly receives a jury of his peers. Simply pointing out that the justice system treated the two differently does not indicate a lack of racism.

Second, the talking heads noted that Roethlisberger is the Steelers' quarterback, the most important position on the team and the hardest position to fill. Holmes, on the other hand, plays wide receiver, still an important position, but probably the easiest position to fill with quality talent.

This, however, ignores a racial inequality that persists in the league, where white players are empowered (by coaches, by teammates, and by the sports media) to play quarterback (a position of leadership), and black players are often diverted into playing positions such as wide receiver (the quarterback's highly athletic assistant). Warren Moon, a black quarterback from the University of Washington, went completely unselected in all 12 rounds of the 1978 NFL Draft because, as pro scouts told him, he couldn't play quarterback in the NFL. After dominating the Canadian Football League for several years, as eventually happens in sports, prejudice gave way to the first team looking for an edge. Moon went on to be only one of 253 players ever inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame. While Moon's story is the most starkly telling, the basic scenario plays out routinely, with many young black quarterbacks being told to consider changing positions. In contrast, many white players are given the liberty to choose their position. It's hard to believe, but John Elway actually considered playing linebacker before settling on quarterback.

Comparing Roethlisberger and Michael Vick

Many comparisons, appropriate and inappropriate, were made between the case of Ben Roethlisberger and Michael Vick. Just before the 2007 NFL season, federal agents raided property owned by Michael Vick, shutting down an underground dog-fighting ring being operated there under the name "Bad Newz Kennels."

Unlike the "investigation" that Roethlisberger was the beneficiary of, the investigation into Michael Vick, the highly successful black quarterback of the Atlanta Falcons, was handled professionally, with the evidence preserved, and no buddy-buddying between the investigators and the investigated. However, all the investigation was able to confirm was that the dog-fighting ring was operated on property owned by Vick (which he claimed to have bought for a family member), and that it was bankrolled with Vick's money. Without cooperative testimony, the investigators could not prove Vick had anything to do with the criminal enterprise.

Unlike the "investigation" that Roethlisberger was the beneficiary of, the investigation into Michael Vick was handled professionally.

The Vick case resolved when the individuals whom the police *could* prove were involved in the dog-fighting ring took plea bargains, agreeing to testify against Vick in exchange for leniency. Their testimony went so far as to say Vick was personally involved with the electrocution and execution of dogs. Ultimately, this put Vick in the position of having to either change his own plea to guilty and sign a "statement of facts" which may or may not be true, or fight a losing legal battle which could result in up to 6 years in prison. Vick chose to plead guilty, and spent 21 months in prison before being released on May 20, 2009.

While this secured convictions all the way around, like all such plea bargains amongst co-defendants, it left the truth on the cutting room floor. We don't know if Vick was involved in the operation, if he approved of it, or if he even knew it was going on. All we know is he made a tactical decision to evade 6 years in prison.

As the Roethlisberger story eventually fell off the front pages, many sports media pundits came to one simple conclusion: People eventually forgave Michael Vick (who returned to the NFL in the 2009 season); therefore, people will eventually forgive Ben Roethlisberger. However, this demonstrates a failure to grasp the reality of the two situations. First, Vick's opposition wasn't as widespread as the sports media made it out to be, and second, Roethlisberger's opposition is more widespread than they've cared to admit.

One aspect of this disconnection in the media stems from how Roethlisberger's and Vick's actions are framed. Every single talk show host prefaces Roethlisberger's actions with the word "alleged," while portraying the allegations against Vick as fact. Some of this is rooted in legal liability issues; They can't say Roethlisberger *did* it, because it was never *proven* in the court of law, whereas in the court's view, Vick was guilty of everything, so you can just say he did it and not be in danger of libel. In reality, there's every reason to be skeptical, both of Roethlisberger's "innocence" (in light of the facts revealed by the district attorney) and of Vick's "guilt" (in light of the dubious nature of his co-defendants' self-serving testimony). So right there, you have a disconnection between the portrayal in the media and the reality of the situation.

The sports media is basing its assumption, that people will forgive Roethlisberger the way they forgave Vick, on the faulty premise that outrage over Vick dipped off. What actually tapered off were the negative portrayals of Vick by those media.

But this discrepency is hardly just a result of innocent technicalities. When Michael Vick's criminal case resolved, many sports talk show hosts set out to paint a singular portrait of Vick as a cold-blooded brutalizer. For example, ESPN radio host Colin Cowherd, on his morning show, explicitly refused to hear calls defending Michael Vick, suggesting such a position was too beneath intelligent discourse to even be worth entertaining. This charade was repeated when Vick signed with the Philadelphia Eagles in August 2009, thus re-entering the NFL for the first time since his conviction. Hosts of shows like "Mike and Mike in the Morning" portrayed most people as very unhappy that a team signed Vick, despite that the host of the show two hours earlier admitted he was surprised to see a lot of his callers and texters were supportive of Vick.

The role of the media in framing the issues becomes clear when you compare cases like Vick's with the numerous incidents of domestic abuse perpetrated by other professional athletes. Violence against women is treated as commonplace, not even worth mention for more than two days, yet violence against dogs becomes a two-year long saga. Some pundits were so out of line as to explicitly suggest Vick's deeds were somehow *worse* than Roethlisberger's. After all, they argued, Ben merely *assaulted* women; Vick (allegedly) *tortured* and *killed* the dogs. This contrast is so wildly out of balance, it almost seems contrived.

Racism exacerbated the situation further. In many ways, it was a case of white culture bringing judgment upon non-white culture. Of course, dog-fighting is horrific and inappropriate, but white culture comes with its own set of horrific tendencies which are rarely examined by the mainstream media the way the criminal behaviors of poor people of color do. In the Vick case, distrust of the criminal justice system on the part of the black community was also framed as being an indication of moral inferiority. And of course, this couldn't pass without a host of racist callers and texters referring to Vick as a "thug" and "gangster." (To my knowledge, nobody ever alluded to Roethlisberger being a Mafioso.)

Outside the realm of the "experts," however, several current and former NFL players expressed support for Vick, and dismay at the way he was treated. Fan support has been widespread too, just outside the media's sphere of acknowledgment. On Dec. 10, 2007, the day Vick was sentenced, his former team, the Atlanta Falcons, played the New Orleans Saints on Monday Night Football. The cameras at the game showed hundreds of fans attending the game wearing Michael Vick jerseys and "We love you Mike Vick" t-shirts. (One national sports radio host, whose name I unfortunately didn't record, expressed disgust at this display. He said that the fans involved in it, most of whom were African-American, were in his eyes, "subhuman.")

Even amongst those people who weren't racially motivated, and who were genuinely concerned with animal welfare, response was mixed. Some have recognized that Vick was indeed a product of the culture in which he was raised, and hasn't demonstrated a cruelty that surpassed that culture. Many animal rights activists believe in restorative justice, that if Vick made the proper amends he should be allowed to play football again. And some pragmatically pointed out that Vick serves as a better role model if he's playing football again, and that wage garnishments going toward animal welfare groups will be more significant coming out of an NFL salary than from minimum wage.

The broad-based outrage over Michael Vick was largely a media concoction. Most people who decried Vick didn't really care about the dogs. If they did, they would be against factory farming, veal, and product-testing on animals. Ultimately, the vitriol was because the mainstream media (sports and otherwise) painted Vick as a pathological brutalizer, a portrayal which didn't bear out, and which the media has since abandoned.

Thus, the mainstream sports media is basing its assumption, that people will eventually forgive Roethlisberger the way they forgave Vick, on the faulty premise that outrage over Vick dipped off. What actually tapered off were the negative portrayals of Vick *by* those media. What little organic outrage there was, independent of the media inflammation, remains constant even today.

The outrage over Roethlisberger, on the other hand, is very real and very organic. The media's liability requirement to preface his actions with "alleged" hasn't stopped many fans from considering the accusations confirmed. NFL.com has had to add "Rapistberger" to its list of names not allowed on custom jerseys. Even during the NFL Draft on April 22, just as the "experts" were saying this would blow over, fans attending the draft painted a different picture. When NFL Commissioner Roger Goddell approached the podium with the Pittsburgh Steelers' first draft pick of the evening, the crowd began chanting "She said NO! She said NO!" Meanwhile, even as attention on the case was still piqued, much of this grassroots opposition went unremarked in the mainstream sports media, with the NFL Draft incident in particular having only been reported by a handful of eyewitnesses and independent bloggers.

One could argue that such displays are just the result of rowdy fans trying to rip the other team any way they can. However, such attempts are usually met with resilient pride on the part of the fans of the targeted team. In this case, Steelers fans have spoken loud and clear, expressing shame and disgust at what their former hero has done to another human being.

What happens next

Commissioner Goddell has already suspended Roethlisberger for the first four games of the 2010 season, for violating the league's personal conduct policy (something which does not require a criminal conviction). What happens next is up in the air. It's possible Roethlisberger returns to play for the Steelers after serving his suspension. It's also possible he never plays for any team in the NFL again.

Roethlisberger has burned many bridges in Pittsburgh, and not just by raping this one woman. The stories in the Sports Illustrated article tell of a relationship strained to the point of breaking. Perhaps most telling was a comment from legendary and much-loved Steelers quarterback Terry Bradshaw. When reporters asked Bradshaw, who brought four Super Bowl trophies to Pittsburgh, what he thought of the claims against Roethlisberger, Bradshaw responded, "Well, he told me he doesn't like me, and I'm learning not to like him."

This has been a humiliating ordeal for the proud Steelers franchise. The team's ownership, the Rooney family, have long been a liberal (and at times, progressive) presence amongst the NFL ownership. The league rule requiring teams to interview candidates of color for open coaching positions, and thus breaking up tendencies of white nepotism (the NFL's version of affirmative action), is called the "Rooney Rule," in recognition of the Steelers franchise historically being ahead of the curve in multi-racial hiring. Barack Obama even named the family's current patriarch, Dan Rooney, his ambassador to Ireland.

In the days before the NFL Draft, Jason La Canfora of NFL.com reported, according to an unnamed source within the Steelers organization, that "The Rooneys are livid." He went on to report that the Steelers were actually entertaining trade offers for Roethlisberger, something usually unthinkable for a Super Bowl winning quarterback in his prime. Even though such a trade was most likely leading into the draft, it's still not outside the realm of possibility. If they could get adequate compensation in trade, they would certainly embrace the chance to wash themselves of the whole fiasco.

As for Roethlisberger's role on the field,

football analysts tend to overstate Roethlisberger's importance to the Steelers team. The Steelers are exactly the kind of team where any competent quarterback can step in and succeed. They have a league-leading defense, a top offensive line, and great receivers (even without Santonio Holmes). In a framework like that, the quarterback doesn't need to be great in order to succeed. He just needs to adequately use the talent around him, and not make terrible decisions.

The Steelers have suggested Byron Leftwich will be the starting quarterback for the games Roethlisberger cannot play. Leftwich was once the starter for the Jacksonville Jaguars, and has shown he can succeed in the NFL. With the disgust and outrage over Roethlisberger, if Leftwich were to show he can succeed in Roethlisberger's place, it's unlikely Roethlisberger would ever take the field for the Pittsburgh Steelers again. It's doubtful the Steelers would get much trade value for Roethlisberger, meaning he would either be cut or relegated to being a permanent back-up. And if Roethlisberger was eventually cut, it's possible that no other team would sign him and risk deeply alienating half their fan base. Much like how nobody signed Barry Bonds after his steroids scandal, and how he quietly faded from the league's attention without ever declaring his retirement, Roethlisberger could find himself without an NFL employer, quietly lapsing into NFL infamy.

Truly, at this point, whether Roethlisberger plays again or not depends on the fans, and how offended they are at a rapist playing in the National Football League.

Wally Cuddeford is an anti-war and social justice activist, and an avid football fan. He lives in Olympia, Washington.

▸ **PRISONS,** continued from page 4

resources continues to diminish in large part because law enforcement and penal measures increasingly devour these resources. The prison industrial complex has thus created a vicious cycle of punishment which only further impoverishes those whose impoverishment is supposedly "solved" by imprisonment.

Therefore, as the emphasis of government policy shifts from social welfare to crime control, racism sinks more deeply into the economic and ideological structures of U.S. society. Meanwhile, conservative crusaders against affirmative action and bilingual education proclaim the end of racism, while their opponents suggest that racism's remnants can be dispelled through dialogue and conversation. But conversations about "race relations" will hardly dismantle a prison industrial complex that thrives on and nourishes the racism hidden within the deep structures of our society.

The emergence of a U.S. prison industrial complex within a context of cascading conservatism marks a new historical moment, whose dangers are unprecedented. But so are its opportunities. Considering the impressive number of grassroots projects that continue to resist the expansion of the punishment industry, it ought to be possible to bring these efforts together to create radical and nationally visible movements that can legitimize anti-capitalist critiques of the prison industrial complex. It ought to be possible to build movements in defense of prisoners' human rights and movements that persuasively argue that what we need is not new prisons, but new health care, housing, education, drug programs, jobs, and education. To safeguard a democratic future, it is possible and necessary to weave together the many and increasing strands of resistance to the prison industrial complex into a powerful movement for social transformation.

Angela Davis is a former political prisoner, long-time activist, educator, and author who has devoted her life to struggles for social justice.

▸ **INTERVIEW,** continued from page 6

made his choice with no duress.

The only parallel I have heard drawn to his public statement is to that of John Wilkes Booth, who after shooting Lincoln, instead of slipping off into the night, jumped onto the stage and announced his crime, which eventually got him caught. It is bizarre.

He makes a great many claims in his statement – that we were never friends, that he never hid his past- but I had no idea he had a DUI until after I was arrested, and discovered he lied to me about it last year. I guess he is indeed a great actor, because I bought it all, hook line and sinker.

Mike: Jeff, explain this to me. I do not get it. Tell us how you saw all this working out. This is a small community and it's hard to believe that you took on this role as informant without knowing that it would end in this way, with you either revealed or suspected as a snitch. Have you painted yourself into a corner? What is your road ahead?

[Jeff Kingsbury declined to answer these questions, or to participate in this interview.]

Mike: Well, Joe, what about sexual orientation? Do you have any sense that your orientation contributed to the investigation and prosecution or is that a small matter compared to your elected official persona? I just know you slightly from political events around South Sound. I have always thought you were a positive, energetic and creative guy. We have not always come down on the same side of every issue, but I think you have been your own man and I respect that. I was not aware of your sexual orientation prior to the *Olympia Power and Light* interview, and frankly, like the marijuana use, I just don't care. It doesn't change my perception of you as a positive, energetic and creative guy, but I know that this stuff does matter to some folks. Do you have any sense that any of that might have played into this prosecution?

Joe: A reporter asked me, "So you are a gay man, so is Jeff, was there ever…" and I was dumbfounded. Jeff and I were close friends and colleagues, nothing more ever. Never any physical relationship. He was very supportive of me however, as I met, dated, and eventually married my partner and husband.

I have never made a big public deal about my sexuality, not because I was hiding anything, but simply because I honestly couldn't figure out how it mattered. In my role as a councilmember, doing the business of the city, well, how you make policy and laws doesn't matter if you are gay, bi, straight or transgendered. I have never hid anything, but it also didn't come up in the business of the city.

I don't believe the fact that I am a gay man played into the prosecution or investigation in any way. Maybe I am naïve in thinking that, but it is hard to believe that in 2010 in Thurston County I would be treated differently because I am gay. My husband is not in the public spotlight, and doesn't want to be, and I actually think the media, for the most part, respected that. As did the deputies and prosecutor. I don't think there was any discrimination involved.

I think most people would agree with you – who cares what my sexuality is, as long as it doesn't effect my work? I think most people also don't care that I use cannabis to treat my insomnia, although I do think many were hurt that I broke the law, or ignored the law, and a lot of folks were disappointed in my poor judgment. So am I, looking back.

Mike: I am not sure that it's as simple as poor judgment. We have the example of another local elected official who has "come out" as a user of medical marijuana this year. I think there's a political risk with that route also. Whether you out yourself as a medical marijuana user with an affirmative defense or you simply like marijuana and use it in the privacy of your own home in that nebulous pursuit of happiness, it's a political risk either way. I think you have been naïve in some ways in this whole matter. I guess that is your trusting and forgiving impulses getting a little too much sway in your decision-making.

I have been thinking that this arresting experience could have some really profound impact on you. Aside from losing a political office or two, I mean. Not to minimize those losses, but maybe that is almost in the range of the normal ups and downs that people experience in their lives. In a similar way, lots of folks around the South Sound and the country are scratching for work, giving up their houses to foreclosures, losing their pensions in the stock market, watching the BP oil disaster in the Gulf of Mexico and the loss of their fishing livelihood and that whole ecosystem, or the earthquakes, or mine explosions, et cetera, and all of that can be pretty disturbing, but there is something different that can also occur in these situations. An opening of the mind, a radicalization by experience that takes some time to process. That seems like the realm of profound impact to me. Do you have any sense about all of that? Are you still processing all of this?

This experience, and the emotions I went through, have indeed changed me. I am humbler, I am more thoughtful, and I have a whole new perspective on fear, uncertainty, the Law, and morality. I am excited to take the time to write again.

Joe: Throughout this experience, I have had things that many in my situation have not had – a job to go back to, a family to stand by me, and a supportive community. I have learned to count my blessings, and realize how much I do have in this world. I wise friend told me in times like these, all you have is Family, Faith and Friends. I believe that.

My degree is in creative writing, and my passions have always been to spend time in the wilderness and explore the natural world. For the past five years, I have gotten further and further form those two things, as politics has dominated my life more and more. The night before my arrest, I was on the phone with a close friend, wondering what had happened to my life? All the things I truly love I had given up, and politics was not nearly as fulfilling as those other things.

I am a writer at heart. In 2003, I started work on a novel, and stopped the next year because I was 'too busy'. Last month, I realized that it wasn't being busy that stopped me – I wasn't ready to write that story. I needed some experiences to understand it better, and to write it. This experience, and the emotions I went through, have indeed changed me. I am humbler, I am more thoughtful, and I have a whole new perspective on fear, uncertainty, the Law, and morality. I am excited to take the time to write again. Last month, I felt real healing when I crafted a poem called 'Men with Guns'.

So I am looking forward now, and not back. I am going to spend more time in the wilderness, more time with my friends and family, more time writing and expressing myself … and yes, healing. This experience did hurt me in a great number of ways, and it will take a long time to really recover.

Mike: I think that experience of support, of the love of friends, that will fit my definition of profound. Joe, thanks for being willing to take on all these really personal questions so directly. I will be happy to see you getting busy in the activist community that is Olympia. And since you are a writer, I have to say, hey, we invite you to submit stories, articles and poems to WIP. Take care, friend.

Jeff, I think I will let you have the last word here. What have I missed that you think needs to be said?

[Jeff Kingsbury declined to participate in this interview.]

Friday - Monday, July 9 - 12, 2010

Freedom Socialist Party
National Convention

Evergreen State College, Olympia, WA

Do you dream of a system that cherishes life, knowledge, solidarity, shared abundance and the natural world?

Join the fight to make this future a reality at the 2010 FSP convention!

Key discussions

The Socialist Feminist alternative to Wall Street

Cuba and the threat of capitalist restoration

Rekindling labor militancy

The myth of a post-racial society

Queer resistance

Justice for people of color and immigrants

Who can save public education?

Organizing for social justice across the generations

Plus workshops on political theory, organizing, and skills building

For more information, contact the U.S. National Office of FSP: (206)985-4621
fspnatl@igc.org • Register online at www.socialism.com

Registration: $20/day • Students or strikers $10/day
Fri., Sat. and Sun. sessions are open to the public

Llame con anticipación para arreglar traducción al español

CollateralMurder.org and the future of war reporting - Part 2

by Joshua Neuhouser

Last month, we ran the first part of an article about a video released by WikiLeaks that showed the killing of Reuters journalists Namir Noor-Elden and Saeed Chmagh by US forces. That article is available at www.olywip.org. We follow it up this month by examining the risks that news agencies ran with their Iraqi employees and how it has affected our view of the war.

Western journalists who took their work seriously came to rely heavily on Iraqi stringers. While a better way to gather news than embedding with US troops, this was also a major abdication of responsibility, as their Iraqi colleagues were often exposed to risks that they would never have to face. Nir Rosen, who is one of the finest journalists to write on the war, explained in his book In the Belly of the Green Bird that he was able to gain unprecedented access to insurgent groups because he had olive skin and spoke Arabic with an Iraqi accent. But this was exactly the point – he was a New Yorker who could pass for Iraqi, therefore avoiding the danger of being targeted as an American, but only enough that he couldn't be tied down to any specifically Iraqi context – which was the one thing that Iraqis could never escape from. As the sectarian war exploded in early 2006, journalists began to be killed not just because of who they worked for but also for who they were. So while journalists who were seen as being too close to the government continued to be killed, others turned up dead after investigating the (often government-backed) Shi'ite death squads. Reports have since surfaced of Iraqi police standing idly by as masked men shot journalists in broad daylight, as well as assassinations of journalists by men wearing police uniforms. Nor do Iraqi journalists receive much kindness from U.S. forces. It is worth mentioning that Noor-Elden and Chmagh are only two of the six Reuters employees that have been killed in the line of duty, and that all have been killed by Americans. When U.S. soldiers kill Iraqi journalists, there is rarely an apology or an independent investigation. After the death of freelance cameraman Dhia Najim in 2005, an anonymous military spokesman admitted that "we did kill him," but that "he was out with the bad guys." This was a strange argument, since his camera not only recorded no fighting prior to the shot that ended his life, but also shows civilians milling around afterwards and staring at his corpse. The Marine Corps used the footage Najim had shot earlier that day – which included RPG and attacks on Coalition forces and an IED explosion – to suggest that he was working with insurgents. Instead, the implication is that no one has any business filming scenes of violent conflict in Iraq besides embedded journalists. Certainly not Iraqis, anyways.

David Finkel made a similar argument in the chapter of *The Good Soldiers* that describes the aerial attack that killed Noor-Elden and Chmagh. "[The commanding officers] had reviewed everything they could about what had prefaced the killings [...] and had concluded that everyone had acted appropriately," he wrote in his book. "Had the journalists? That would be for others to decide." It's disturbing enough to hear insurgents and occupiers use the same logic that justifies killing journalists based on their supposed fraternization with the enemy, but it's even worse when it comes from someone who shares the profession of those whose death he is explaining away. Especially when he himself traveled exclusively with one of the war's belligerent parties.

In 2005, Reuters editor-in-chief David Schlesinger wrote an open letter to the chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee where he detailed a "a long parade of disturbing incidents whereby professional journalists have been killed, wrongfully detained, and/or illegally abused by U.S. forces in Iraq." The incident he was primarily referring to occurred in 2004, when four of his employees – cameraman Salem Ureibi, TV reporter Ahmad Mohammad Hussein al-Badrani, and driver Sattar Jabar al-Badrani – were arrested outside of Fallujah. U.S. soldiers ignored their repeated insistence that they were journalists and threatened to send them to Guantanamo Bay. They were eventually released, but not after being subject to physical and sexual abuse. According to Reuters, "two of the three men said they had been forced to insert a finger into their anus and then lick it, and were forced to put shoes in their mouths ... all three said they were forced to make demeaning gestures as soldiers laughed, taunted them and took photographs."

There are many more Iraqi journalists who have been detained without charges by the U.S. military whose stories I don't have the space to relate here. At most, they get a blip of publicity on anti-war blogs and are quickly forgotten, and those are the lucky ones. The most famous case is that of Muntazer al-Zaidi, who threw a shoe at George W. Bush at a press conference and ended up spending a year in prison, where he was subject to beatings, whippings, waterboarding, and electrical shocks. But even though the Iraq war no longer makes headlines in the United States, incidents like this continue. Despite the phased withdrawal of foreign troops, tensions are still high enough that journalists in Basra refused to cover the activities of Coalition forces this March in protest against an incident at a news confer ence where members of the press were manhandled and detained by soldiers.

In this light, it becomes obvious why so few Americans understand what has happened in Iraq over the past seven years. However, while it is true that to accept a job as a journalist in Iraq is an exceedingly risky business, the problem goes deeper than the lack of safety. After all, in spite of all the foreign correspondents who never leave the Green Zone unescorted by soldiers and despite the terror that undoubtedly keeps many Iraqi journalists from looking into certain stories, there are still heroic journalists working in the Middle East like Robert Fisk, Nir Rosen, Anthony Shadid, and Deborah Amos. The real problem is that the news industry has simultaneously been facing the most dangerous situation it has ever faced as well as what is probably its worst financial crisis in history. Traveling with soldiers and relying on Iraqi stringers aren't just the journalistic practices of fear, but also of boredom. Across the board, media budgets are shrinking and investigative journalism is becoming a thing of the past. When there's no longer any incentive for journalists to innovate – and in Iraq, significant disincentives – the only ones who will pursue their stories at all costs are the ones who have let their professional demeanor slip enough to become emotionally involved in their subject matter. The rest will take the path of least resistance, which just happens to look an awful lot like a hotel in the Green Zone.

Which is why the fact that the 'Collateral Murder' video was released through a website instead of a traditional news corporation is significant and newsworthy in itself. WikiLeaks was launched in 2006 by the Australian hacker Julian Assange, who is more of a public figurehead than anything else. The idea was that whistleblowers inside governments and large corporations could safely and anonymously submit classified information that they feel the public should have access to, which could then be made available for free on the Internet. Most observers, however, focus on the sensationalistic aspects of WikiLeaks' rise to influence. There's no shortage of material, as groups as diverse as the Church of Scientology, Swiss bankers, and the Pentagon have stated their intention to have the site shut down. Julian Assange, who apparently lives in a highsecurity compound in Nairobi, has claimed that he has been attacked in his home by armed men, and the WikiLeaks Twitter account is particularly known for its terse, paranoid messages.

When there's no longer any incentive for journalists to innovate – and in Iraq, significant disincentives – the only ones who will pursue their stories at all costs are the ones who have let their professional demeanor slip enough to become emotionally involved in their subject matter.

Anyone who has experience dealing with hackers, anarchists, or other groups that value clandestine operations will find nothing surprising here. There's a common level of paranoia that can be neither taken at face value nor dismissed by outside observers – and besides, focusing on the sensational aspects of what WikiLeaks does avoids the real story.

Despite their secretive operations and shadowy origins in the world of politically motivated hackers and Chinese exiles, their website contains a list of what it calls their "steadfast supporters – those who help keep WikiLeaks going through its financial and legal woes. The list is rather mundane – containing names like The Hearst Corporation, The Associated Press, and the Gannett Company (publisher of USA Today), and The Los Angeles Times. This is important for a number of reasons. Over the past ten years, a lot of noise has been made about the ways in which the Internet can democratize the media, but there really hasn't been a whole lot to show for it. Blogs, YouTube, and Twitter do make it easier to share opinion pieces, eyewitness accounts/videos of important events, but many of these have little lasting value. There's not a whole lot that a breathless eyewitness statement can convey that an in-depth interview conducted with that same eyewitness weeks later can't also accomplish, and what has gotten lost has been research. Research takes time and costs money, and despite Old Media's much-denounced status as a gatekeeper of information, it also had the resources to conduct a good investigation when it wanted.

WikiLeaks is changing all that. Despite a name that brings up associations with Wikipedia, which anyone can edit, WikiLeaks staff conduct extensive research into the veracity of all the information that they receive. While most of their operations remain secret, it is known that they spent $50,000 to send two people to Baghdad in order to research the killings of Namir Noor-Elden and Saeed Chmagh, and this (apparently) did not include the cost of decrypting the video. What this does is break down the barrier between investigators and writers – all WikiLeaks does is publish as much raw data as they can, letting anyone do with it what they please. As news corporations struggle to find funding to support investigative journalism of their own, WikiLeaks now offers up the possibility that maybe they don't have to.

One final thing. WikiLeaks has released two versions of the 'Collateral Murder' video – one short, and one long. In the latter, we watch a long, dull segment of ground troops securing the area, and afterwards we see several Iraqis run into a building, which is promptly destroyed by U.S. missiles. In an interview with Al-Jazeera, Julian Assange asserts that they were civilians. The military insists that they were insurgents. This is another question we will probably never know the answer to, so feel free to pick the one that fits your own ideological preconceptions.

But if it wasn't for the deaths of Noor-Elden and Chmagh – journalists are, by their nature, hyperaware of the plight of their own kind – and the final release of the videotape by a website that has the potential to revolutionize news coverage, would we even be asking that question?

VICS PIZZERIA
360.943.8044
233 Division St NW

www.LokiLoka.com
A free online local directory
Sustaining a culture created by locally-owned businesses, small farms, artistry, community organizations and events
You'll be amazed at what you can find
Loki Loka

Student Discount with ID
TATTOOS
THE NEW ALTERED STATES
All new staff. New manager.
Totally new Interior.
Come see what the BUZZZZ is about!
307 4th Ave E; Downtown
Olympia, Wa 98501
(360)754-6623
myspace.com/alteredstatestattoo
BODY PIERCING | DERMAL ANCHORS

WIP ANNOUNCEMENTS

USSF Caravan Benefit Concert

Friday, June 11, 8pm-1am

The Procession Studio
311½ Capitol Way North, behind the Royal

$7 sliding scale

Join local Social Forum organizers for an evening of music, dancing and fun! Music by KnotPineBox, the Buddha Magoo, Danny Kelly, Mudcat, and Evan Price, with more bands to be confirmed. There will be a raffle and a silent auction of donated goodies.

This is a fundraiser for local activists going to the U.S. Social Forum in Detroit. Organizers are trying to raise enough money to get the buses there and back. Suggested donation is $7 on a sliding scale. No one will be turned away for lack of funds.

To see more details and RSVP, go to http://tinyurl.com/27zy4w4 . For more information about the caravan, go to http://freedomcaravan.wordpress.com/ . For more information about the 2010 U.S. Social Forum, go to www.ussf2010.org .

June POWER Outage - Bowling!

Monday, June 7, 6pm

Westside Lanes
2200 Garfield Ave. NW

FREE

POWER Outage is a monthly get together in Olympia for POWER (Parents Organizing for Welfare and Economic Rights) and community members. POWER is an organization of low-income parents and allies advocating for a strong social safety net while working toward a world where children and caregiving are truly valued and the devastation of poverty has been eradicated.

On Monday, June 7, come out for a night of bowling fun! We'll pay for your shoes if you sign up for a volunteer shift for our next fundraiser, our annual Secret Café! Bring the kids!

Meet at the Westside Lanes at 6pm. Call us at 360-352-9716 or email us at welfarerights@riseup.net if you need a ride or want to carpool, or have any other questions!

For more info: please call POWER at 360-352-9716 or email welfarerights@riseup.net. Find us on Myspace & Facebook!

POWER - DIY Car Maintenance

Monday, July 5, 5:30-8pm

First United Methodist Church
1224 Legion Way SE

FREE

Join POWER (Parents Organizing for Welfare and Economic Rights) for our monthly potluck and get-together. For July, we'll learn some basics of car maintenance, such as oil changes, tune-ups, and a general overview of how cars work.

Potluck begins at 5:30pm, workshop from 6-8pm. First United Methodist Church, 1224 Legion Way SE. (This is not a church-related event.) Bring the kids - We'll have on-site child care!

Call us at 360-352-9716 or email us at welfarerights@riseup.net if you need help with transportation costs or have any other questions!

National Week of Art for Oscar Grant

June 10-17

The trial of Johannes Mehserl, the cop who shot and killed Oscar Grant while he laid on the ground, starts in LA in two weeks. On Monday, June 14th people from all across California will be gathering in front of the LA Superior Courthouse, in support of Oscar Grant's young daughter, girlfriend, mother, family, friends and community in their uphill battle for justice.

June 10-17 has been declared the National Week of Art for Oscar Grant. Artists of all types (Visual Arts, Music, Poetry, Film, Theatre, Dance, etc), all capabilities, and all ages will be dedicating their art & events that week in a Nationwide show of support for Justice for Oscar Grant & All Stolen Lives.

If you would like to participate in the National Week of Art for Oscar Grant, please contact AIDGE at Art4OscarGrant@gmail.com .

Cartridge Care Inc.

THE PRINTER EXPERTS since 1990

TONER - FILM - INK JETS
Remanufactured and new - Hundreds in stock

REPAIR - SERVICE - SALES for
Printers - Fax - Copiers - Plotters

Free Pick Up & Delivery

1314 Lebanon St. SE - Lacey 360-459-8845

FOR benefit - Three Secret Cafés

Sunday, June 13, 5-9pm
Monday, June 14, 7-9pm
Thursday, June 17, 7-9pm

Several talented and generous cooks and hosts invite you to Enjoy Food and Fellowship at a series of "secret cafés" to benefit the Olympia Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Building a world of peace, justice and nonviolence is possible only if we work together – and create fellowship and a sense of community to sustain us in the struggle. Our good work requires good food too!

Enjoy this opportunity to visit with old friends and meet new ones. These "secret cafés" will occur on three dates in the greater Olympia area. They offer a variety of menus – one with live music! – and they also allow for a range of suggested donations to benefit the Olympia FOR's ambitious work for peace, social justice and nonviolence. Please select one or more events to satisfy your palate and calendar.

Space is limited in the homes and all of the cooks need to know how much food to prepare, so for all events you choose please RSVP as soon as possible to Alice Zillah, (360) 357-7705 alicezillah@yahoo.com. In both homes, outside dining is possible (and encouraged) if the weather allows.

For a full itinerary of each Secret Café, go to http://www.olympiafor.org/ .

Rest in peace, Tova

A brief note to those who know Tova as Scott's beloved service dog, ever faithful, attending more protests and actions than most human's have ever dreamed...Tova died Thursday, May 27th, soon after the full moon and before sunset. Tova was 14, and had been at home on hospice care for these last months, not able to walk without help. Recently Scott got his bike trailer fixed and was able to take him zooming through town, which I think he liked very much. Tova died at the library. Thank you to Patrick, our good Vet/friend who came to be with us as Tova passed on.

If anyone has any photographs of Tova, please send them on.

In the best of memories of Tovarish Didelphid Wagster 1996-2010

From Scott and Patty

Works In Progress celebrates 20 years and thanks our friends!

Our May 2010 20th Anniversary extravaganza issue was a lot of fun to put together. We are honored by the quality and history of submissions that we have received and been able to print from the South Sound Community. A big thank you to all of you who write to us or submit articles, events, and announcements to WIP.

That's the upside of printing a 36 page paper and looking back at articles. Here's the downside: that was a very expensive issue to print. It ran about triple our usual costs and we are busy celebrating that issue with an ongoing fundraising campaign with a goal of raising $2,000.00 to help us stay in print. We can usually cover our costs with our advertising revenue, subscriptions, the generous donations we receive from individuals in the community, through the occasional fundraiser and by reaching into our own pockets to see if we can find some cash.

We plan to be out in the community over the next few months giving away copies of the 20th and current issues and celebrating 20 years of printing independent media news, opinion, poetry, art, photos and more.

A big thank you to Al Zimmerman for the great graphic that is now on Page 1. We think Al has caught something special about Olympia in that graphic. We have silk-screened T shirts available for a donation with the old masthead and we will soon have shirts available with the new masthead thanks for our friends at the Community Print Shop at Dumpster Values on 4th Ave. Next, we are planning a yard sale for later this year to peddle some wipster-new items and to hawk our T shirts, baked goods, take subscriptions and more. Our website is current again at olywip.org! Well done, Wally. We have a limited edition color glossy print of the 20th Cover. It's a thing of beauty. If you or someone you know would like to have a copy (suitable for framing), we are hoping for a $10.00 donation as part of our 20th Fundraiser party. You can also support WIP by advertising or subscribing.

A special thank you to the Community Sustaining Fund for its support of our 20th Anniversary Issue. You can help the Community Sustaining Fund provide support to the progressive community by rounding up when you are shopping at the Olympia Food Coops.

Works in Progress also wants to acknowledge a few more friends in the community who helped us with our recent bake sale at the Capitol Theater. You can add your appreciation to ours by steering your business to The Bread Peddler, Old School Pizza, Blue Heron Bakery, Meconi's Subs, the Oly Rollers, and the Olympia Film Society. This truly is a wonderful community.

June 2010

FREE

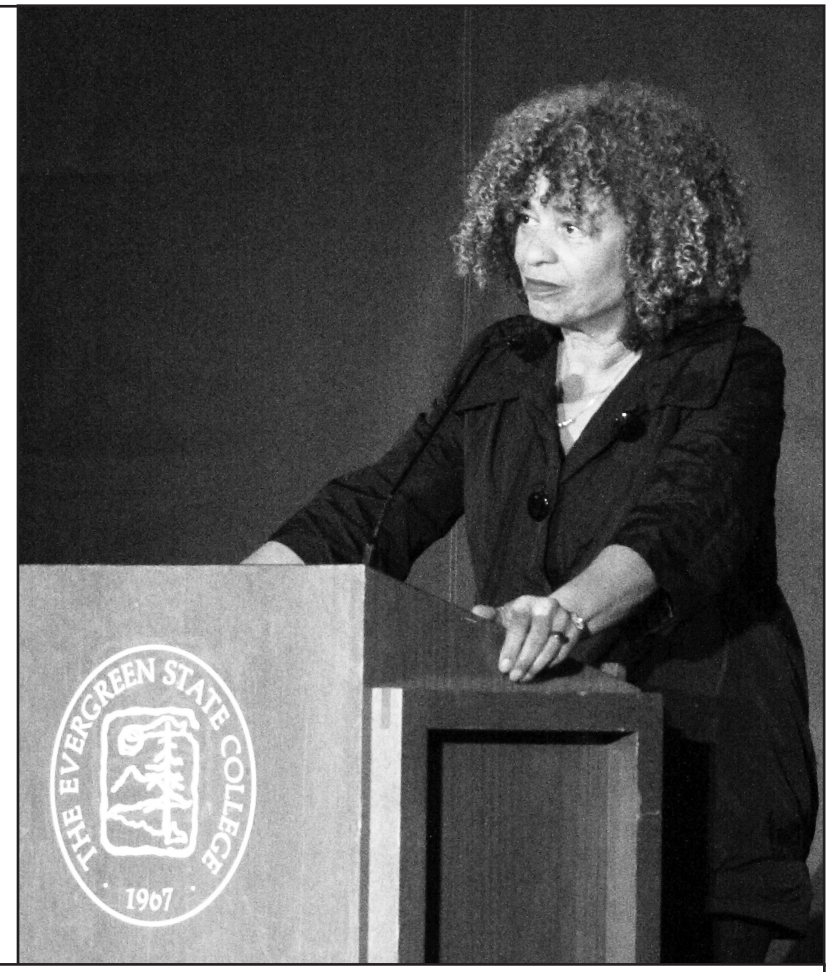
WORKS IN PROGRESS

SERVING THE SOCIAL JUSTICE COMMUNITY OF OLYMPIA SINCE 1990

Angela Davis

Thoughts on the Prison-Industrial Complex

Page 4



ALSO

Interview with Joe Hyer - Page 1

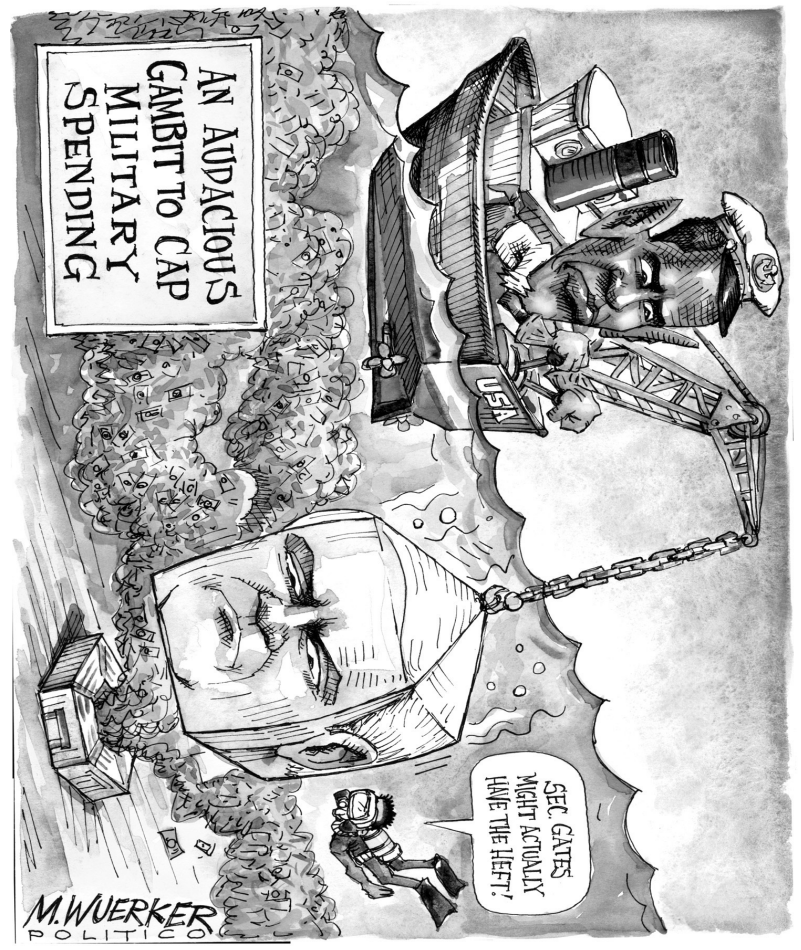
Report from Arizona - Page 1

Breaking down the flotilla massacre - Page 9

The case of Ben Roethlisberger - Page 5

CONTENTS

1 Indigenous resistance to Arizona racism
1 Joe Hyer speaks out after marijuana bust
3 Electoral politics at the labor convention
3 Sit-in at Bank of America
4 Angela Davis on the Prison-Industrial Complex
5 Racism, sexual assault, and the sports media
7 The Sheriff and Prosecutor on the Joe Hyer case
9 Outrage over the Gaza flotilla massacre
10 A look back at California's Proposition 187
11 Cheryl Crist runs for Congress
14 How WikiLeaks is changing war reporting, part 2



"I'm afraid that it's terminal."

Works in Progress
PO Box 295
Olympia WA 98507